

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

1951

VOLUME XL, NO. 5

What Can an Angry People Do?	<i>Editorial</i>
Educating the Local Citizen	<i>Paul G. Steinbicker</i>
Partisan Elections in Cities	<i>Arthur W. Bromage</i>
Care of State Trust Funds	<i>William Miller</i>
Propose Florida Constitution Commission	259
Nevada Approves County Manager Plan	268
141 California Cities Levy Sales Tax	270
P. R. Wins First Rounds in Cincinnati	273
Kansas City Citizens Beat Reunited Machine	276
Cities Warned to Keep Up Plant	280

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor

ELSIE S. PARKER, Assistant Editor

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN BAUER, Public Utilities
JOHN E. BEBOUT, Research
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.
Proportional Representation

ELWYN A. MAUCK, County and Township
H. M. OLMSTED, City, State and Nation
WADE S. SMITH, Taxation and Finance
WM. REDIN WOODWARD,
Proportional Representation

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

H. F. ALDERFER, *Pennsylvania*
CARTER W. ATKINS, *Connecticut*
MYRON H. ATKINSON, *North Dakota*
CHESTER BIESEN, *Washington*
D. BENTON BISER, *Maryland*
ERNEST M. BLACK, *Oklahoma*
JOHN C. BOLLENS, *California*
WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW, *Missouri*
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, *Michigan*
ALVIN A. BURGER, *New Jersey*
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, *Pennsylvania*
WELDON COOPER, *Virginia*
EDWIN A. COTTRELL, *California*
C. A. CROSSER, *Washington*
D. MACK EASTON, *Colorado*
WILLIAM O. FARBER, *South Dakota*
DAVID FUDGE, *Oklahoma*
PHILIP L. GAMBLE, *Massachusetts*
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, *Rhode Island*
MRS. LEONARD HAAS, *Georgia*
M. H. HARRIS, *Utah*
SAM HAYS, *Arkansas*
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, *Mississippi*
JACK E. HOLMES, *New Mexico*
ORREN C. HORMELL, *Maine*
HERMAN KEHLI, *Oregon*
PAUL KELSO, *Arizona*

DRYDEN KUSER, *Nevada*
LANE W. LANCASTER, *Nebraska*
JOHN D. LANCMUIR, *New Hampshire*
CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN, *Maryland*
STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Texas*
BOYD A. MARTIN, *Idaho*
EDWARD M. MARTIN, *Illinois*
JAMES W. MARTIN, *Kentucky*
DAYTON D. MCKEAN, *New Hampshire*
EDWIN B. MCPHERON, *Indiana*
WILLIAM MILLER, *New Jersey*
LENNOX L. MOAK, *Pennsylvania*
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, *Vermont*
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, *Tennessee*
ABBETT PULLIAM, *New York*
JOHN E. REEVES, *Kentucky*
ROLAND R. RENNE, *Montana*
PAUL N. REYNOLDS, *Wisconsin*
RUSSELL M. ROSS, *Iowa*
LLOYD M. SHORT, *Minnesota*
GEORGE G. SIPPRELL, *New York*
JOHN G. STUTZ, *Kansas*
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, *Wyoming*
PAUL W. WAGER, *North Carolina*
HARVEY WALKER, *Ohio*
YORK WILLBERN, *Alabama*
JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Florida*

Published by THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Henry Bruere, President

John S. Linch, *Vice President*
George S. Van Schaick, *Vice President*
Richard S. Childs, *Chairman, Executive Committee*

Carl H. Pforzheimer, *Treasurer*
Alfred Willoughby, *Secretary*
Executive Committee

COUNCIL

Charles Edison, *West Orange, N. J., Chairman*

Frederick E. Baker, *Seattle*
Frederick L. Bird, *New York*
Albert D. Cash, *Cincinnati*
L. P. Cookingham, *Kansas City, Mo.*
James A. Cunningham, *Chicago*
Thomas C. Desmond, *Newburgh, N. Y.*
Karl Detzer, *Leland, Mich.*
Harold W. Dodds, *Princeton, N. J.*
Rev. Edward Dowling, *S. J., St. Louis*
Herbert Emmerich, *Chicago*
J. W. Esterline, *Indianapolis*
Max E. Friedmann, *Milwaukee*
Arnold Frye, *New York*
George H. Gallup, *Princeton, N. J.*
Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, *Grand Rapids*
Mrs. Virgil Loeb, *St. Louis*
Mrs. Thomas H. Mahony, *Boston*

L. E. Marlowe, *Richmond*
Roscoe C. Martin, *Syracuse*
Spencer Miller, Jr., *Springfield, Mass.*
Frank C. Moore, *Kenmore, N. Y.*
Ben Moreell, *Pittsburgh*
James M. Osborn, *New Haven*
Kenneth Perry, *New Brunswick, N. J.*
Walter M. Phillips, *Philadelphia*
Lawson Purdy, *New York*
F. E. Schuchman, *Pittsburgh*
Murray Seasongood, *Cincinnati*
Carrol M. Shanks, *Newark*
Henry L. Shattuck, *Boston*
Richard Weil, Jr., *Englewood, N. J.*
A. C. White, *San Antonio*
Wilson W. Wyatt, *Louisville*

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

John W. Agnew, *Boston*
James L. Beebe, *Los Angeles*
James W. Clise, *Seattle*
William Collins, *New York*

Arthur E. Johnson, *Denver*
John Nuveen, *Chicago*
Ed. P. Phillips, *Richmond*
Charles P. Taft, *Cincinnati*

National Municipal Review

Volume XL, No. 5

Total Number 410

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for May 1951

LETTER TO THE LEAGUE	238
EDITORIAL COMMENT	239
EDUCATING THE LOCAL CITIZEN <i>Paul G. Steinbicker</i>	246
PARTISAN ELECTIONS IN CITIES <i>Arthur W. Bromage</i>	250
CARE OF STATE TRUST FUNDS <i>William Miller</i>	254
NEWS IN REVIEW	
CITY, STATE AND NATION <i>H. M. Olmsted</i>	259
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP <i>Elwyn A. Mauck</i>	268
TAXATION AND FINANCE <i>Wade S. Smith</i>	270
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION <i>George H. Hallett, Jr.</i> <i>and Wm. Redin Woodward</i>	273
CITIZEN ACTION <i>Elsie S. Parker</i>	276
RESEARCHER'S DIGEST <i>John E. Bebout</i>	280
BOOKS IN REVIEW	286

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals*, *International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1951 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, \$5 per year; Canadian, \$5.25; foreign, \$5.50:
single copies 50 cents.

UNITED CIVIC ASSOCIATION OF THE BRONX

New York 59, New York

April 3, 1951

National Municipal League,
299 Broadway,
New York City

Gentlemen:

At our monthly meeting 118 members devoted most of the time discussing the Kefauver investigation hearings.

The discussions started with: What CAN we do about it? Then, it developed to: What SHOULD we do? Finally the question became: What MUST we do about it, as a civic group which our neighbors respect and which often enjoyed the leadership in the cultural, religious, political, anti-Communist and civilian defense progress of our community?

Here are some of the questions which we asked ourselves:

Shall we organize a community prize contest and urge our fellow citizens, especially our youth, to submit suggestions as to what we should now do to develop the political honor and morality of Jefferson, Franklin and Lincoln in both parties?

Shall we organize a JOIN-A-POLITICAL-PARTY MONTH and urge alert voters to join their party; join in such numbers as to outvote the present, indifferent 5 per cent who are the controlling clubroom members—outvote them on issues and policies, on candidates and appointees?

Shall we urge our borough political and community leaders to be televised and meet the public face to face—to tell each other what we think should be done to respect politics—to show the challenging Communists that the healthy democratic process is superior to cold, totalitarian ways? We believe that Tammanyism, favoritism and McCarthyism make more Communist followers than Marx, Lenin and Stalin do. If we smash the cause we should eliminate the effect.

Finally, it was agreed that I was to write to obtain your valued opinion. We then shall develop an effective plan to convey these collective opinions to our fellow citizens in the community.

May we therefore expect to hear from you. Many thanks.

You are assured of our earnest appreciation.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES RUBINSTEIN, *President*

For the reply to this letter see next page

What Can an Angry People Do?

MILLIONS of people whose attitude toward skullduggery in public affairs had been tolerant and indifferent were shocked as never before by the Kefauver Committee's disclosures of politico-criminal alliances.

Televising of the hearings at which gamblers and politicians faced the music brought home to countless voters at least a glimmering of the vast conspiracy against the public. No matter what the ultimate decision is as to the propriety of subjecting witnesses to the bright lights and the all-seeing eye of television, the impact of the hearings was so tremendous as to defy measurement.

Now what?

Will the people forget, as the embarrassed politicians hope? Or will attention be distracted by other events between now and next election day? Will we have the type of candidates for office who will make it possible for the voters to choose between good and evil? Will political leadership offer clear, understandable issues or in many places will both sides, aware of their equal guilt, throw up the usual fog of confusion?

Before the echoes of the hearings had faded from the ears of the astounded public, top leadership was asserting that this is, after all, a local problem and that, now that the people have been informed, it is up to them.

Exactly what should and can the people do about it? Will it suffice to shower the newspapers with indignant letters? To establish a

"crime commission" or other new citizen organization in each city, most of them inadequately financed and staffed? To pledge politicians to stay away from gamblers and racketeers if elected?

There is no absolution in sterling platitudes and bursts of righteous indignation unless supported by good works. Let us diagnose the *basic* causes of these politico-criminal alliances. Then there will be some chance of finding a cure or cures. Only then will the people be prepared, as a practical matter, to pick up where the senators leave off.

Cause

Boss-ridden, patronage-minded party organizations. Political parties tend to be subject to dictatorial minority control. Consequently it pays the racketeer and gambler to corrupt the bosses.

Cure

Give the parties back to the people. This calls for whatever action may be required in a given state, county or city to:

1. Democratize party organization to give members an effective voice and break up arrangements by which an inner circle perpetuates itself.

2. Subject the financial support and inner operations of parties to public scrutiny.

3. Strengthen the merit system (which politicians are constantly trying to undermine) to stop the use of public funds to hire armies of political mercenaries.

4. Give the unbossed voter and

candidate for office a better opportunity to register effective protest by reducing obstacles to independent political action imposed by most direct primary and election laws; by providing convenient, properly safeguarded permanent registration of voters; and by using enlightened election systems, such as proportional representation, which assure fair representation according to how voters think rather than where they sleep and make it impossible for a selfish minority to manipulate an election so as to defeat candidates preferred by the majority.

Cause

Venial motives and tainted money in politics. Modern government inevitably offers many temptations to unscrupulous seekers of special favors. Where favor-seekers are tolerated, both the government and the politicians who act as brokers are corrupted and the infection spreads throughout the body politic. More and more "respectable" citizens compromise themselves by seeking or receiving favors. Prominent officials and party leaders who would not accept a penny of dubious origin for themselves do not scruple to accept contributions for the party from persons whose only interest in government is to pervert it. In this atmosphere citizens who are too high-minded to practice a political double standard are crowded out of party affairs and public life.

Cure

Take the private profit out of politics and enforce a practical code of political ethics by:

1. Establishing tested procedures to minimize the "influence" racket in public purchasing, letting of contracts, levying of assessments, making

of inspections, handling of traffic violations and other "minor" infractions, issuance of administrative rules and decisions, granting of licenses, permits and franchises.

2. Regulating lobbying and requiring it to operate in the open.

3. Curbing the "inside" lobbyist and influence-monger by enforcing strict rules concerning incompatible interests of legislators and other public officials and limiting their right to accept certain types of outside employment for a period after leaving office.

4. Requiring any public or party official to waive immunity in investigations of the conduct of public affairs or forfeit his present and future right to hold office.

Cause

Incompetent, ineffective and sometimes corrupt law enforcement and administration of "justice."

Cure

Eliminate partisanship in the selection of judges, juries, prosecutors and all law enforcement and police officers and adopt standards and methods of appointment and administration that recognize the peculiarly sensitive character of these positions from the standpoint of the public safety and morals. The non-partisan judicial selection plan of Missouri and New Jersey's integrated court system, headed by a responsible chief justice, point the way to justice that is truly blind and deaf to improper influences and diligent and efficient in impartial application of the law. There are numerous examples of properly organized, professionally competent,

politically untouchable police departments and enforcement agencies.

Cause

Confusion as to where the duty and power to deal with politico-criminal alliances lie. This confusion is due to our layer-cake government, the interstate character of the rackets and the influence of national parties on local affairs. Most of all it is due specifically (1) to state constitutions and laws that hamstring local initiative and stymie local action and (2) to the subordination of state and local interests to the ambitions or fortunes of actual or would-be national political figures in both parties.

Cure

Begin by recognizing that in the nature of our constitutional system and of a free society law enforcement and public morality are primarily the responsibility of citizens and their public servants in the relatively restricted local areas in which even today they do most of their living, working and sinning. Local responsibility without commensurate legal power and political freedom to act is meaningless. In most communities the hand of the local citizenry could be appreciably strengthened by one or more of the following:

1. Effective home rule. Such preposterous invasions of home rule as placing the local police department under a state-appointed board as in Kansas City, St. Louis and a number of other cities should be stopped. So should the whole system of special legislation—a system that corrupts the legislature while destroying self-government by subjecting local interests to political horse-trading at the state capitol.

2. Nonpartisan local elections. Local elections in a majority of the municipalities and a handful of counties are nonpartisan in form and most of these are substantially divorced from the national party battle. But elections in a majority of our largest cities and in most counties outside of California, Minnesota and North Dakota are still tied in fact to the fortunes and rivalries of the national parties.

Good citizens who agree on vital local issues, including their desire for decent government and their natural abhorrence of politico-criminal alliances, are, except in one-party areas, divided between the national parties. The boss system, as Woodrow Wilson pointed out, is bipartisan, with both majority and minority machines fed out of the same "golden spoon," by a nurse "absolutely impartial as between" the two. This is why both political machines make common cause against citizens seeking to win such reforms. Wherever the boss system exists the injection of national parties into local elections divides the good citizens and leaves them impotent.

Even where the boss system is non-existent, partisanship at the local level confuses and divides the voters on meaningless lines and tends to elevate mediocrities who have no difficulty in embracing a single party label attached to any candidate from dog-catcher to president. This makes it easy for good men, even great men, when seeking or holding high national office, to lend their prestige and support to sleazy local organizations and predatory state and local bosses. The rational-

ization that they are thus sacrificing the lesser to the higher good reverses the order of nature which teaches that when the roots are rotten the higher branches cannot remain strong and healthy. No single reform would do more for the purity and honesty of national as well as local politics than the complete elimination of parties from the local—municipal and county—scene.

3. An end to the spoils system in filling key positions in local post offices, Internal Revenue Bureau, Department of Justice, United States courts, various "emergency" and "defense" agencies and other federal offices. Many a boss or machine under severe attack at home has been kept in power by appointments and favors from a friendly national or state administration. This is the grossest violation of home rule and has choked off many promising grass roots revolts. There is not the slightest reason why the president or any member of Congress should have any political jobs to give out that would be of the slightest interest to a local political organization. The survival of the spoils system in this area is a reproach to every member of Congress who has not raised his voice and his vote against it. Putting an end to it should be one of the first objectives of federal legislation to assist local citizens in cleaning up the conditions revealed by the Kefauver Committee.

4. Recognition by state governments of a greater direct and indirect responsibility for law enforcement. As already indicated this would require in most states substantial judicial reform and elimi-

nation of politics in the offices of county prosecutors. It would also require strengthening of the state police force to give maximum cooperation to urban police departments and to cover areas unable to provide full local police protection.

5. Further development of cooperation and exchange of information and services among federal, state and local law enforcement agencies freed, as already suggested, of the political fetters that protect the crook against the public.

Cause

General weakness and incompetence of many state, county and local governments. Among the common weaknesses that interfere with their ability to discharge their full responsibilities are: (1) diffusion of responsibility among too many separate officers and agencies; (2) unrepresentative legislative bodies; (3) municipalities and counties that are too small in population, area or resources to provide effective, responsible government—too small, in short, for home rule; (4) multiplicity of local governments sharing responsibility for a single metropolitan area. (Other basic weaknesses have already been discussed.)

Cure

There is no mystery about what ought to be done to correct these weaknesses. Here is the prescription:

1. Extension of the council-manager plan which has demonstrated in a thousand places that it corrects the basic defects in old-style commission, aldermanic and mayor-council governments, while providing the best broom yet devised for political housecleaning. No one claims

that good government is impossible under another system; but, as Charles Edison has said, the manager plan "tends to make good government easy and natural."

2. Modernization of ramshackle county governments, which are frequently the favorite hideouts of predatory politicians, along the lines of the manager plan as in a few counties ranging in population from 11,083 (Petroleum County, Montana) to 4,125,000 (Los Angeles).

3. Revision of state constitutions to free state, county and municipal governments from legal handcuffs and strait-jackets that frustrate able officials. Missouri and New Jersey recently revised their constitutions to strike off shackles that stood in the way of responsible government.

4. State administrative reorganization, so as to place responsibility for performance or non-performance and enable the governor to be an effective chief executive. In most states a complete job requires constitutional changes to cut out independently elected department heads and untangle lines of responsibility.

5. Reform of cumbersome unrepresentative state legislatures, as in Nebraska. That state's efficient, representative one-house legislature—elected on a nonpartisan ballot, incidentally—has shown the way in its sixteen years. The gross underrepresentation of urban areas and the logrolling and buck-passing in most of the 47 old-style two-house legislatures are primary causes of other weaknesses in the state and local governments for which they make the laws and for the cynical belief of many good citizens that

there is no use looking to their own state for redress of grievances so they might as well concentrate on Washington.

6. Elimination by consolidation or annexation of local governments that embrace too little area, talent or resources to meet their responsibilities. This can not be safely left to the people who happen to be living in an area of inadequate government. It is of concern to the neighbors and a legal responsibility of the state. There can be no right to home rule without the capacity and willingness to live up to it at least well enough to avoid injury to the neighbors. There are important cities that get a bad name not because of derelictions of their own but because of conditions in virtually nameless fringe areas over which they have no control. There are even more cases where suburban areas have so drained off or circumscribed the human and material resources of a central city that the latter lacks the means and the natural leadership to do a good job.

A heavily built-up area is not a true city just because it happens to have a boundary line around it and a city hall in the middle. A whole city, one capable of real self-government, must have many forms of wealth and, above all, a diversified population and room for natural growth. The city has traditionally been both a magnet and a source of culture, talent and leadership and a dominant force in the civilization of its day. When people of more than average means and capacity for enlightened leadership move out to the suburbs, they are not leaving the

cultural city but all too often they are, with purpose and malice aforethought, escaping from the political city. They can never, however, escape the moral or the material consequences of evading responsibility for the good government and general well being of the whole city of which they are just as much a part as if they lived as well as worked a stone's throw from the old city hall.

7. This condition, which has been tremendously accentuated in the last decade, cries for a determined attack on the so-called metropolitan area problem. Painful as it may be to the sensibilities of many people sleeping and educating their children in tidy little suburbs, no honest and effective solution can possibly avoid rubbing out a good many boundary lines—lines that have no more justification than a spite fence.

It may not be necessary to consolidate all governments in a metropolitan area, but it is necessary that essential services, including crime control, and the over-all responsibilities of every citizen and taxpayer, are not undermined or evaded because of crisscrossing municipal and county lines. The solution must be patterned to each area. It may mean turning police and other functions over to a streamlined county government. It may, as in Baton Rouge, mean city-county consolidation. It may mean setting up a metropolitan authority, although this device has been abused. It will certainly mean the tedious, painstaking development of a pattern of inter-governmental cooperation.

Cause

The lack of information, know-how

and organization among good citizens with no axes to grind to match the understanding and organization of the racketeers, the professional politicians and the various categories of special favor-seekers living just along the margin of legality.

Cure

The way to begin is to begin, as has been demonstrated in communities like Cincinnati and hundreds of others where citizens, thoroughly disenchanted with old-style, inefficient boss and racket-ridden governments, have organized, adopted modern charters and thrown and kept the rascals and the incompetents out of city hall. There are various types of fact-finding and citizen action organizations that have proved effective in helping a community discharge its responsibilities.

It is possible to organize special crime commissions as in Chicago, Dade County (Miami) and other places. These, if well led and adequately financed, serve a useful purpose in calling attention to evils and prodding lethargic public agencies. But in most communities the findings of a crime commission are only the beginning, not the ending, of the citizen action required. Citizens need to organize to get good government.

Many say the basic weakness to be overcome is citizen apathy and indifference. True, but the record of civic accomplishment shows that civic inertia frequently evaporates when people learn there is something they can do and how to do it. All the will in the world will not solve a problem until a way is discovered or made known.

The fact that there are ways, and what they are, has not been made sufficiently clear, either through our educational system or through the newspapers, magazines, radio and other mass means of communication. These, including television, have been stronger in pointing to evils and viewing with alarm than in reporting and explaining the practical and successful ways evils can be dealt with. Consequently, there is a great obligation on educators, publicists and others to follow up the statesmanlike work of the Kefauver Committee with equally factual and dramatic expositions of the remedies.

Organized citizen action needs leadership as well as a goal and the necessary road maps and determination. The enemy is led by full-time professionals operating strictly for their personal profit. Civic leadership must be provided by citizens who make their living in other ways. There is therefore a special obligation resting on citizens of all walks of life who possess a talent for leadership to contribute a share of it in the common cause. They must learn that good government and honest politics have a price both in money and in effort.

* * *

The prescription here set forth is no less than a prescription for general good government, clean politics and enlightened, constructive citizenship. This is because the politico-criminal alliance exposed by the Kefauver Committee is not in fact a disease. It is, rather, a symptom—one of many symptoms—of much more fundamental ills in the

body politic. It is possible to repress or alleviate the symptoms here and there and from time to time, but in the long run there will be no victory unless, as in treating any disease, we get at the real causes and attack them with basic remedies.

All the causes listed here are not present in every community or state, partly because every one of the cures has been proved in practice. Many of them have been developed under the leadership of the National Municipal League during the last 57 years. This is so because the League was organized in 1894 by militant citizen organizations established because of public indignation at the rottenness in city government.

The League has ever since been drawing on the knowledge and experience of practical-minded political scientists and thoughtful and effective civic leaders to develop, test and refine tools and methods to cure civic ills. They are blueprinted and explained in such League documents as the *Model City Charter*, *Guide for Charter Commissions*, *Model State Constitution*, *Model County Manager Charter*, *Model Election Administration System*, *Model Registration System*, *Model Direct Primary Election System*, *Citizen Organization for Political Activity*, *Government of Metropolitan Areas*, its model fiscal laws, etc.

These, plus the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, which arms local civic leadership for sound service, are the kind of munitions men of good will must use if they are to escape the frustration of dissipating their righteous indignation in mere cries of anguished pain.

Educating the Local Citizen

Using charter campaigns, St. Louis Adult Education Council teaches fundamentals, helps turn out vote.

By PAUL G. STEINBICKER*

IN THE spring of 1949 an almost unique situation developed in Greater St. Louis in connection with local government. By decision of the voters, two boards of freeholders were set up—one to draft a new charter for the city of St. Louis (population 852,000), the other to prepare the first home rule charter for St. Louis County (population 404,000)¹ as authorized in the Missouri constitution of 1945.

Since both documents would have to be submitted to the voters for approval, the situation offered an unparalleled opportunity for inaugurating a community-wide program in political education. The Adult Education Council of Greater St. Louis grasped this opportunity. The resulting Political Education Program (P.E.P.) proved so effective that it is now continuing on a permanent basis in Greater St. Louis. It might well merit consideration in other communities.

The first step was the appointment, in June 1949, of the P.E.P. Committee of sixteen.² Great care

was exercised by the president of the Adult Education Council to assure a committee fully representative of all major segments of the community. The two major political parties were represented by the former Republican mayor of St. Louis and his Democratic opponent. Both major universities of the area as well as the public school system were represented. Organized labor, both CIO and AFL, and the business community had their spokesmen included. Rounding out the committee were representatives of the Leagues of Women Voters, Urban League, Public Library, Governmental Research Institute and the newspapers.

This committee was immediately put to work on two major assignments: (1) to determine WHAT every citizen of Greater St. Louis should know about local government; (2) to discover HOW this knowledge could best be transmitted to the citizen body. To fulfill these responsibilities effectively, the committee was divided into two subcommittees. One, composed of the representatives of the two universities, Governmental Research Institute, public schools and the press, concentrated on the "WHAT." The other, consisting of the remaining members, turned its attention to the "HOW." Through the summer and

*Dr. Steinbicker is chairman of the Department of Government at St. Louis University. He served as a member of the State Personnel Advisory Board, inaugurated under the 1945 state constitution, from 1945 to 1949, and was an active participant in the campaign for a new county charter adopted in St. Louis in 1949.

¹The city of St. Louis is geographically separated from St. Louis County.

²For the full makeup of the committee, see *Political Education Primer*, published

by the Adult Education Council, St. Louis, 1950.

into the fall of 1949, both subcommittees worked enthusiastically and effectively.

The subcommittee on "WHAT" soon decided that if every citizen were to be reached, and reached effectively, the material it prepared must be simple, brief and basic. But it also recognized the need for developing a fuller and more analytical treatment of the forms and functions of government in Greater St. Louis, for use by speakers, discussion leaders and the like. The result was that two documents were prepared.

Syllabus and Primer

First was a *Syllabus* on local government in Greater St. Louis, 40 mimeographed pages. The *Syllabus* presented a fairly complete and factual account of the legal status, functions, structure and inner workings of local government in the area. It was designed as a sort of textbook to enable the leaders of community groups to be well enough informed to guide their members in political education. About 700 copies were distributed.

The other document was the *Political Education Primer*, a boiled down, jazzed up, simplified version of the *Syllabus*. It was prepared deliberately at a sixth grade reading level, so as to be really useful and comprehensible to practically the entire adult population. It was built around five key ideas:

1. *Good men and good laws make a government good. Bad men and bad laws make a government bad.* Under this heading were analyzed the three processes for selecting government personnel—the elective sys-

tem, the spoils system and the merit system, and the processes for securing fundamental laws (constitutions and charters) as well as ordinances and statutes.

2. *Local government does a lot for us.* This section gave a realistic and interesting account of the functions of local government.

3. *Local government costs money, and we pay the cost.* Here, obviously, the figures as to costs and the taxation system were put, in terms of Greater St. Louis.

4. *If we know how our local government works, we can get more help from it.* Under this heading, the structure of government in Greater St. Louis was analyzed.

5. *We will have to do something ourselves if we want better government.* This section presented an objective, practical consideration of the operations of pressure groups and political parties, their methods and their effectiveness.

The problem remained as to HOW to make this minimum amount of information available to as great a number of St. Louisans as possible. As is usual under such circumstances, the first aspect of the problem was financial. The Adult Education Council of Greater St. Louis operates under a limited budget. It could not finance the printing of the *Primer* at all. The P.E.P. Committee therefore became a fund-raising organization and soon proved to be quite adept. In short order, it raised enough funds, mainly from labor unions and business firms, to proceed with the printing of 50,000 copies. All in all, a total of \$1,387.36 was raised for the P.E.P. fund; as a re-

sult, enough surplus was created, beyond the cost of the original printing, to proceed with a revision of the *Primer*. It is expected that, by selling the *Primer* at cost, a continuing usefulness may be found for it.

In any event, the committee proceeded with its plans for the political education of Greater St. Louis. The opening gun in its campaign was a series of two institutes on political education in November and December, 1949.³ The first was designed to train "task forces" of lecturers, discussion leaders and panelists who would become sufficiently informed and inspired to carry the material throughout the community. The second institute presented analyses of techniques for programming political education and included seminars on various aspects of local government. The institutes were quite successful. Ninety-nine organizations were represented in the attendance, comprising some 800 delegates, who took back to their organizations a new insight into and appreciation of local government. Of course, they also took back a goodly number of *Primers*.

Over 45,000 copies of the *Primer* were distributed among individuals and groups, including labor unions, business firms, churches, clubs, libraries, schools and others. For example, 13,000 *Primers* were purchased by fourteen large labor unions; eight business firms took nearly 5,000 more and one of the large department stores circulated 2,500 among its store employees, ac-

companied by an explanatory article in the store's paper.

The *Primer* was also used in programs sponsored by all sorts of organizations. In many cases a group discussion was held, followed by the sending of the *Primer* to all members. At the annual meeting of the St. Louis County Teachers Association the entire theme was local political education. Three major sessions were held on local government and over 2,000 *Primers* were distributed. Church groups used the *Primer* extensively. More than 200 church meetings were devoted to local government in a period of six months at which copies of the *Primer* were used. In some instances the *Primer* was circulated among students in high schools, studied and then taken home to the family.

After an appropriate lapse of time, these groups were asked by the Adult Education Council to report the use to which the *Primer* had been put. That practically every one of these reports was returned to the council is significant. But even more significant was the fact that the *Primers* were actually used, and that many St. Louisans developed a new interest in, and understanding of, their local government and its operations.

Sunday Telecasts

The other major activity of the P.E.P. Committee was the development of a series of six Sunday afternoon telecasts on local government, beginning January 29, 1950. The facilities of Station KSD-TV were made available to the committee free of charge. Three of the programs, a half hour each, were devoted to

³*Annual Report of Adult Education Council, St. Louis, Missouri. 1950.*

the city government and three to the county. Outstanding experts in the field, including the chairmen and members of the two boards of freeholders then functioning, participated. Probably the most interesting features were the "telephone sessions." The last of the three programs on the city and of those on the county were telephone sessions. Designed to induce participation, those watching were invited—and had been invited at the end of the program the week before—to telephone, during the telecast, any question relating to local government which they wished. The experts in attendance, in full view of the questioner back home watching his TV set, would try to answer the questions immediately. These sessions were so well received that the phones rang constantly during the telecast. Many questions had to be answered by mail. It was estimated by the TV experts at Station KSD-TV that over two-thirds of all the sets in Greater St. Louis were in use during the local government series, an estimated audience of about 200,000 persons.

Program's Effectiveness

This, in brief, represents the major features of the Political Education Program of the St. Louis Adult Education Council. There were, of course, other activities in connection with the proposed new charters—radio broadcasts, newspaper editorials, press releases, speakers bureau and the like. It is not yet possible to measure the effectiveness of the program, but evidence is encouraging.

The voters of St. Louis County turned out in the special election on the county home rule charter, in

February 1950, in much larger numbers than the prophets expected, and adopted the charter by a two-to-one majority. In the city of St. Louis, the charter vote was not held until the regular primary election of August 1950, when the charter was decisively defeated. But, it must be emphasized, the defeat of the city charter does not indicate any failure in the P.E.P. The program was not designed to insure adoption of the charter. The *Primer*, the TV series and all the other activities of the committee were impartial; they neither supported nor opposed the city or the county charter.

Hence, the significant fact is that, in the city election as in the county election, the turnout of voters was much higher than usual in such cases. Even in the general election of November 1950, and despite extremely bad weather all day, the turnout of voters was extremely high. Of course, this does not prove that the increased voter interest and participation are due either wholly or in large part to the activities of the P.E.P. Committee. But competent and disinterested observers have expressed their conviction that P.E.P. deserves a large share of the credit.

In any case, the board of directors of the Adult Education Council is so convinced of the value of the P.E.P. Committee that it has made it a standing rather than a special committee, and has directed the committee to continue its work on a permanent basis. The conclusion seems wholly justified also that political education, especially in local government, is vital, and can be made both interesting and desirable to a large part of the community.

Partisan Elections in Cities

Professor-councilman finds they frustrate united civic action and bar independents from seeking public office.

By ARTHUR W. BROMAGE*

MODERN charters give little quarter to the idea of partisan nominations and elections in cities. The trend is toward nonpartisan primaries and elections. Statistics reflect the leadership of the National Municipal League which has stood for nonpartisan municipal elections for more than 50 years.

Considering the cities of more than 5,000 population in the United States, 81.1 per cent of those with council-manager government provided in 1950 for nonpartisan ballots. Some 75.1 per cent of the commission-governed cities did likewise. Even in the older, mayor-council governments, 41.9 per cent were using nonpartisan nominations and elections. For all forms of government the figures stood at 57.4 per cent nonpartisan.

Under the circumstances, the question might well be raised: why discuss the problem of partisan elections? Several reasons seem appropriate. This is a continuing issue. It has been debated, and will be argued, for decades. The late Charles A. Beard, on various occasions and in print, challenged the validity of the trend to nonpartisan ballots for cities. He is not without present-

day disciples who contend that "national" party lines can have a real and valid significance in municipal affairs. Again, a majority of our mayor-council cities are still in the partisan tradition.

I happen to be a councilman in a mayor-council city which still uses partisan nomination and election—Ann Arbor, Michigan. My position on the city council stems from two fundamental factors—ward and partisan elections. Looking at this situation as a political scientist, what are the problems of partisan municipal election for the councilman?

Ann Arbor has party organizations which are active and alert. However, the city by no means has "machine" politics in the derogatory sense of that term. The party organizations are comparatively loose-jointed ones; power is broadly open to those who will give their time and energy; and party caucuses are not held to bind councilmen to specific action programs during a term. Within the Republican party there is a wide range from the liberal center to the conservative right. Nevertheless, the presence of party organizations definitely splits the community into two major partisan factions which have difficulty in coalescing for joint community projects.

First comes the problem of the primary. The prospective candidate must choose between the Republican,

*Dr. Bromage, professor of political science at the University of Michigan, is a city councilman in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and author of the recent pamphlet, *On the City Council*, as well as numerous other books and pamphlets in the governmental field.

the Democratic and a third party primary. Some people dislike to make such a commitment because they cherish the role of an independent. National politics are "hot" these days and to be tagged as a Democrat or as a Republican means, in the eyes of the public, acceptance of a whole series of "positions and attitudes" in politics. By holding partisan municipal elections you automatically preclude independents—who refuse to be drawn into a party organization—from any real opportunity for active participation in municipal politics.

Running in a partisan municipal primary is not easy unless you have worked for the organization in the past, contributing to its coffers either in time and energy or in money. Anyone without such a record of party work is likely to be a marked man in a partisan municipal primary. He will have to exert tremendous efforts to defeat the party organization in the ward or in the city. Probably he will be defeated, unless he has unusual stamina, color and voting appeal.

To the contrary, any candidate backed by the "organization" should be able to win a primary, provided the party can deliver somewhere in the neighborhood of 10 per cent of the registered voters. Participation in primaries is usually lower than in general elections and the participating voters are divided between the partisan primaries. That is why I use the 10 per cent figure as a "rule of thumb" for the Republican party in our community. Conversely, the individual who isn't solid with the organization will have a difficult task

mustering enough votes to beat the 10 per cent rule.

Of course, an old party organization can always be challenged by new faces and new forces. Politics are fluid like a battlefield. Organizations wax and wane. Old-timers wear out, lose their appeal, even shuffle off this mortal coil. New forces and faces always have a chance to move in, provided they work within the organization. My point can be reduced simply to this: a partisan municipal primary necessitates that candidates go through that organizational doorway into the general election. The independent doesn't have a chance in a well organized partisan community. He might as well stay at home and save his energy to make money or enjoy life.

The General Election

Now that the primary is over, and A and B are squared off as the respective Democratic and Republican candidates, what happens? This is an old, old story with an old, old answer. In a Democratic ward or city the Democrat wins, in a Republican ward or city the Republican wins. There are exceptions, of course. Where the balance between the parties is close, strong candidates may upset the probable result by attracting "split" votes. Generally, this isn't going to happen. The individual will win his seat in council as a Republican or as a Democrat through the votes which the organization can muster. Democrats have accepted nomination in some Ann Arbor wards just for the run. They weren't really interested in

serving on the council and they knew they wouldn't have to do so.

Candidates with the wrong party label just don't have a chance to win. Exceptions usually arise from instances of interparty agreement. In other words, the Republicans just fail to run someone against an outstanding Democratic candidate. But, by and large, the individual must have the party label, and it must be the right party label. Last year a Republican won in the Democratic fourth ward, but his campaign was long and arduous and his techniques were terrific! Almost single-handed, he delivered the ward to the Republican organization in what was inevitably described newspaper-wise as an upset.

Smart party organizations, desirous of staying in power, absorb new and dynamic forces. They must take some responsibility for party candidates, after all. The loss, in this process, lies in the defeat of individuals just because they have the wrong party label. Another loss which cannot be measured lies in the defeatism which besets independents who refuse to go through a partisan gateway into the city council.

Other effects also flow from partisan municipal elections. Not only candidates but also citizens are separated by an artificial boundary—the party line. Citizens, Democrats and Republicans, who might readily coalesce behind a candidate, or for an issue, are constrained not to cross party lines. It takes a special effort for voters to split their tickets, to have friendly contacts with the enemy. A party regular who openly supports an opposition candidate—

because he is a good man or for any other reason—is tagged as unreliable. Voters, like candidates, must pay the penalty for party irregularity. That penalty is loss of influence in the party.

Citizen Groups Affected

The constant operation of party organization to control municipal administration has an effect on the status of citizens' councils and similar organizations. Those associations which are outside the framework of the "national" party organizations have a difficult time in selling charter changes, modifications in policy, new municipal programs. Unless an idea or a principle is sold to the dominant party organization, it usually remains on the periphery of action programs. Councilmen, who may agree with civic league programs, will be disinclined to be counted thereon in public, if party loyalty and party success become entangled with the issues.

The councilman himself is drawn into party organizational meetings and work not only for municipal but also for state and national elections. To the sum total of evenings spent at city hall he must add other nights spent on meetings called by city and county committees. As a past and/or future candidate in a municipal election, he cannot afford to neglect party organizational matters even in state or national campaigns.

Again, the party organizations come to regard municipal elections as an essential cog in their operations. They incline to the belief that party activity at the local level tends to accelerate party energies in state and

national affairs. The municipal campaign gives the party faithful another objective which must be taken. Frequent partisan elections, it is thought, help to keep the organization alert and active. The appeal goes out to the faithful to win this one—in addition to all the others.

Shadow of Partisanship

Finally, some citizens become more concerned with party fortunes and less interested in what actually goes on at city hall. The individual records of councilmen tend to be less pronounced. It is important to belong to the dominant political party and to remain a "regular," not a maverick. While party caucuses are not called on municipal issues in Ann Arbor, one would be dense in failing to recognize party alignments which arise on certain controversial subjects, such as rent control, public housing and similar issues.

Partisan politics cast their shadows over any local scene. When partisan elections are used, these shadows deepen and lengthen. It takes feuding and factionalism within the dominant party to break up a long run of smooth control.

What results can be laid at the door of partisan municipal elections? From one case example they appear to one observer as follows:

1. Independents are virtually debarred from participation as councilmen.

2. Self-starters in party primaries will be looked over with a view to determining if, in the past, they have contributed in time or money to the party.

3. Old-timers in party organ-

ization work can be "put over" more readily in the primaries and hold the edge over self-starters.

4. In a general election the candidate of the minority party doesn't have much chance of success unless he can profit from "split" voting engendered by unusual drawing power or extraordinary campaign tactics.

5. Able individuals with the "wrong" party label become, as a consequence, defeatist.

6. Civic or citizens' organizations have more difficulty in making a dent on community trends because citizens habitually look to the parties for leadership.

7. Councilmen are drawn into party work for state and national as well as local elections.

8. The parties come to regard local elections as necessary cogwheels in keeping the machine in fairly constant operation.

9. Citizens are separated by an artificial barrier and must pay a penalty for party irregularity in municipal affairs.

Beyond any question the partisan way of municipal life is a very distinct one, marked by specific characteristics. It can produce good government. It is a middle way of life between bossism at one extreme and nonpartisanship at the other end of the municipal spectrum. It is well for communities to appraise what the effects of partisan nomination and election are. In any given city, many civic energies, compartmentalized by the partisan tradition, might well be released by a trial of the modern concept of nonpartisanship.

Care of State Trust Funds

Safeguards and sound management provided by New Jersey law calling for single responsible head, full publicity.

By WILLIAM MILLER*

THE custody, investment and management of state trust funds are big business. Every state has at least one retirement fund and Michigan has had as many as six. The earnings on the investments of state trust funds—and this is true for municipal funds as well—are a mainstay of public employee pension systems and a variety of other funds in which the public has a vital interest.

State administered public employee retirement funds held assets valued at \$2,400,000,000 as of the fiscal year ending in 1949 and realized total contributions and earnings amounting to \$501,000,000, including \$62,000,000 earned on investments. In addition most of the states still have substantial sinking funds which had assets valued at \$869,000,000, and which earned \$17,000,000, in the same fiscal year.¹ To this state investment problem may be added that of local governments involving billions of dollars in sinking fund assets and numerous other classes of investments.

*Dr. Miller, director of research for Princeton Surveys, Princeton University, and an adjunct assistant professor of law at the New York University School of Law, was advisor to the New Jersey Constitutional Convention of 1947 on the executive, militia and civil officers. He has served as consultant to various state and municipal governments on problems of organization, administration, taxation and finance.

¹U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Compendium of State Government Finances in 1949*. Washington, D. C. July 1950, Tables 35 and 36.

The growth of disability benefits legislation—California, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island now have so-called “cash sickness benefits” laws—has been followed by the accumulation of substantial reserves in the funds created in three of these states to finance the payment of benefits. The addition of these to the traditional pension and annuity funds, sinking funds and other public trusts has focused new attention on the investment function as a problem in state organization and administration—a function which has been neglected even by the state “little Hoover commissions.”

A quarter of a century ago Martin L. Faust, in a little book on the custody of state funds, considered the handling of so-called permanent school funds in the United States as typical of the investment and management of public moneys. He concluded:

State management has been defective mainly because the majority of the states have failed to provide a single officer whose sole duty should be to care for and invest the state permanent school fund. The result has been that the majority of states have intrusted the care of millions of acres of school lands and the investment of the proceeds of the sales of the same to officers or to a board composed of several officers, all overburdened with other duties. As a consequence they are unable to give the attention which is both desirable and necessary to the investment and care of the permanent school fund.

But if management of the fund is placed in the hands of a single officer, that officer should be the treasurer or his deputy, and his responsibility should not be discharged without the review and approval of a superior authority.

Beyond this study, little attention has been given to the growing problem of investment of public trust funds. The practice ranges from a well developed system in New York, which is the exclusive responsibility of the state comptroller, to no system at all—in the great majority of states. Administrative control over state investments has developed haphazardly as each new fund was created. As a result, the boards of trustees of the respective funds have been given responsibility for investment management without regard to the capacity of the boards or the investment skills available to them.

New Jersey Reorganizes

The purposes of public trust funds may be different, but the investment and management of their assets is a common function suitable for administrative integration. Because of its highly specialized nature, investment, as well as reinvestment, of the various funds has in it the ingredients of a staff service, as much as accounting, law, engineering and personnel, all of which have been integrated according to the nature of the skill involved.

The state of New Jersey, which had completed one of the more successful administrative reorganizations in connection with its constitution of 1947, recently undertook to review, revise and consolidate its in-

vestment functions. The background of this effort, the nature of the legislation which was developed and the legislative experience which it encountered are worthy of attention.

The state had acquired eight different boards of trustees charged with the investment of as many different funds. In addition the state treasurer was solely responsible for the investment and management of ten separate funds. It was the invariable practice of the legislation setting up new funds to designate the state treasurer as an ex officio member of the board of trustees. In this way a certain amount of coordination and integration of investment policy was intended to be achieved. In practice, it was still possible for one of the funds to be competing with another and occasionally for bonds sold by one fund to pass through the hands of a broker and be purchased by another fund. This was possible because the boards themselves reserved the right to pass upon all offers of sale and to approve such offers at a regular meeting by majority vote prior to any purchase or sale.

Practically no publicity was given to fund transactions and this proved to be a great weakness in procedure entirely apart from the matter of organization. It is generally agreed that publicizing the state's interest in any offering of securities is likely to increase the price rather than promote competition for the sale. Investment officers had therefore been guided by Dun and Bradstreet's *Municipals Service* and by the *Blue List Service*, a daily publication in which dealers list securities with their

prices. Not only was publicity avoided in advance of purchase, however, but no publicity was given to the state's investment transactions even after they had been made.

A reexamination of the entire system was touched off by the disclosure, as a result of an investigation by the then state treasurer, John J. Dickerson, that one of the brokers dealing with the state had made "an unconscionable profit" on a sale of bonds to the disability benefits fund. The report pointed out that there was no question as to the quality of the bonds and the state had suffered no financial loss. A further special investigation of the fund's transaction was ordered by the General Assembly to be conducted by an independent nonpartisan commission of three.²

Basic Concepts

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll, already engaged in state administrative reorganization, gave the investigation his full support. The governor also made positive recommendations for reform in his budget message of February 1950. The citizens committee made similar recommendations for a complete re-vamping of the system which had existed in New Jersey for many years and which was not unlike that which still exists in most states. These recommendations were accordingly enacted in Chapter 270 of the Laws of 1950.

The new law is built upon a few

basic concepts of administrative organization and of sound practice:

1. The management and investment of the funds is vested in a Division of Investment and placed within the integrated Department of the Treasury, in conformity with the state's general plan of administrative reorganization.

2. Within the Department of the Treasury a State Investment Council is also established to consult and advise with the treasurer, to participate with him in the appointment and removal of the director of the division and to review and establish standards of investment to guide the director. It may be well to note that, in view of the large investment problem, the new law increases the scope of authorized investments from the usual public securities to any investments legal for savings banks. The Investment Council is composed of four representatives from each of four existing boards of trustees of the principal employee retirement systems and five members to be appointed by the governor, at least three of whom "shall be qualified by training and experience in the field of investment and finance."

3. The Division of Investment is under the immediate supervision and direction of a full-time director, who is required to be "qualified by training and experience to direct the work of such division." The director is appointed by the state treasurer from a list of persons certified to him by the State Investment Council as being qualified. The director serves for an indefinite term but may be removed by the state

²James Kerney, Jr., editor of the *Trenton Times*; Carrol M. Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Co.; and Augustus C. Studer, a former president of the State Bar Association.

treasurer, for cause, upon notice and an opportunity to be heard at a public hearing, or by the State Investment Council if seven or more of its members concur. A director was appointed on October 31, 1950, and the division is functioning in accordance with the act.

Full Publicity

4. One of the most important provisions of the new law from the viewpoint of effective investment policy is a section requiring full publicity with respect to investment transactions. Section 14 provides:

Not later than fifteen days after the close of each month, the director of the Division of Investment shall cause to be prepared and make available to the state treasurer, the State Investment Council, the press and the public, a report of the operations of the Division of Investment during said month. Each report shall include a detailed summary of investment, reinvestment, purchase, sale or exchange transactions, setting forth, among other things, the investments bought, sold and exchanged, the dates thereof, the prices paid and obtained, the names of the dealers involved, and a statement of the funds or accounts referred to herein.

In brief, the new law centralizes the investment function under qualified direction and opens it to the searching light of full publicity. The present state treasurer, Walter T. Margetts, has stated that "the key to the success of the entire system of investment control and management is this provision for full and adequate publicity on the work of the division. This policy had been initiated by the treasurer's office as

a corrective measure prior to the legislation and was incorporated in the act on the basis of our experience."

The monthly statements issued thus far clearly describe the investments purchased, price paid, broker involved and other pertinent data. The annual report will undoubtedly cover such items as net profits on sales and average earnings on the state's investments. But it will be necessary to use these reports with special care to avoid placing pressure upon the director to make a favorable "record." The last thing a state should want to do is to make a regular trading operation out of its investment accounts. It may be anticipated that the judgment and prestige of the State Investment Council will be especially useful in maintaining a sound policy and safeguarding the director against any unwise pressures.³

This new legislation, like any other major enactment, contains several elements of reasonable compromise. One example is a provision requiring the director of investments to submit to the boards of trustees of his principal retirement funds a list of proposed investments. The

³The public members of the State Investment Council appointed by Governor Driscoll include: I. C. Raymond Atkin, vice president and a director of J. P. Morgan and Company; Dwight Beebe, investment advisor and retired vice president of the Mutual Life Insurance Company; Mrs. Mary G. Roebeling, civic leader and chairman of the board of the Trenton Trust Company; Winston Paul, civic leader and former chairman of the board of Huyler's; and John J. Vohden, Jr., labor leader and member of the executive committee of the Union National Bank.

boards are allowed 48 hours in which to approve or disapprove any particular investment. This introduces an element of inflexibility and delay which does not appear well suited to the practical conditions of the investment market. In the legislative stage it was argued, however, that once it is understood that the investment director's acceptances are tentative and become final after the 48-hour period, the system should not give any real trouble.

The first six months of operating experience under the law tends to confirm the view that this veto power is not troublesome. In practice the state treasurer and the investment director have reviewed in advance all major investment policies with the boards of trustees of the investment funds. Differences of judgment have in this way been ironed out prior to the consideration of specific transactions. Approval of the director's purchases and sales is then a matter of only a few hours required to submit proposals to a designated officer of each of the funds who may indicate approval promptly.

Thus far there has not been one instance in which the veto power has been used or in which the possible delay of 48 hours has been experienced. The veto power was necessary at the outset to reassure the large public groups concerned that their ultimate authority was not being impaired, and intelligent administration appears to have allayed the misgivings of those who opposed its inclusion in the law.

The composition of the State Investment Council, similarly, may be

something less than ideal from the investment viewpoint in order to achieve other public values. In all probability the legislation could not have been passed if the trustees of the principal state employee retirement funds had been excluded from some voice in determining investment policies.

On the other hand, the past practice of depending extensively upon ex officio members, generally recognized as undesirable in any administrative organization, has been effectively eliminated. While a nine-member investment council is somewhat larger than an optimum size of three or five, the recognition of the interest of large public groups in major pension and retirement funds is a valid reason for maintaining a larger council under the circumstances.

Political Influence Out

An effort to insulate the system against any political influence has also led to some departures from conventional principles of administrative organization. The state treasurer is the head of the department and might in the public eye be held responsible for its successful operation. Under the legislation, however, the director is somewhat removed from direct supervision and direction of his department head. The treasurer must depend upon his power of appointment and removal, except that in the case of investments for the account of any funds other than the four principal retirement funds he is given the same veto power over proposed investments by the director.

(Continued on page 288)

Florida Citizens Propose Constitution Commission

Prepare Revised Judiciary and Legislative Articles

COMPLETE revisions of the legislative and judicial articles (III and V) of the Florida constitution have been prepared for submission to the legislature by the Citizens Constitution Committee, which also recommends that the legislature establish a constitutional commission to study the other articles of the constitution and to submit to the legislature its findings on need for changes.

The committee, which is headed by J. E. Dovell of Gainesville, proposes that if the two articles now ready receive the necessary approval of three-fifths of all members of each legislative house, they then be submitted to the voters at the next general election. If an article is approved by a majority of the people voting thereon it would become part of the constitution.

The committee prefers revision article by article to complete over-all revision at one time, saying that the latter would need to be done by constitutional convention with much attendant expense and difficulty.

New provisions of the proposed legislative article include annual sessions of unlimited duration, but with annual legislative salaries fixed by statute and not to be changed during the current elective term. Alternate annual sessions would be restricted to budgetary and fiscal considerations. Special sessions of unlimited duration could be called by the legislature as well as the governor. Legislators would be limited as to financial deal-

ings with the state. Records of votes of legislative committees, and an index of progress on bills, would be maintained. Limitations would be placed on local and special legislation. Provision for emergency meeting places for the legislature have been brought up to date and placed in the legislative article, along with various other provisions relating to the legislature but now found in other articles.

Pointing out that Florida's courts do not comprise an integrated system the committee proposes one that has been worked out in recent years by a committee of the Florida Bar Association. The present twelve types of courts would be replaced by four: a supreme court, circuit courts, county courts and juvenile courts. The legislature could increase the number of supreme court justices as need arises. That court would make rules of practice and procedures for all courts. The chief justice could transfer judges temporarily from one court to another. A simpler and cheaper method of handling small claims is provided. Adequate court review of rulings of all boards, bureaus and commissions is proposed. The position of justice of the peace is abolished, its duties to be turned over to regular courts.

All future judges would be lawyers on salaries, the existing fee system being abolished. The Missouri system of appointment of judges by the governor from a panel prepared by a nonpartisan court commission is recommended. To hold office for a further term a judge would stand for election on his record, the governor to appoint a successor if the voters turn the incumbent down. Florida judges are now elected.

A constitutional commission of 100 members is recommended, 34 to be appointed by the governor, 33 by the senate president and 33 by the house speaker. Research would be performed by the Legislative Reference Service.

Tennessee to Vote on Limited Constitution Convention

The 1951 Tennessee legislature has passed an act (chapter 130, laws of 1951) calling for a referendum, on August 7, 1952, on the question of holding a limited constitutional convention. If an affirmative vote is cast, 99 delegates will be elected on November 4, 1952, to meet in April 1953. The convention will be limited to these matters: (1) amending clause of the constitution, (2) pay of legislators, (3) governor's term of office, (4) governor's veto power, (5) right of suffrage, and (6) proposed home rule amendment providing (a) home rule for counties and cities, (b) uniform systems of city charters, and (c) consolidation in whole or in part of governmental or corporate functions of municipalities and counties. Amendments proposed by the convention must be submitted to popular vote for approval before becoming effective.

The legislature has also passed bills repealing the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting for all years except 1871 (chapter 63) and providing for the statewide permanent registration of voters (chapter 75).

Constitutional Convention Sought in Oregon

A bill to provide for a constitutional convention in Oregon has been introduced in both houses of the legislature. Sponsorship is bipartisan and includes Senators R. L. Neuberger and R. D. Holmes and Representatives E. J. Ireland, Mark Hatfield and Mau-

rine Neuberger. It proposes the election of a convention, with one delegate for each 10,000 people in each of the state's four congressional districts. If the voters approve, as necessary under the constitution, the convention would meet at the state capitol in Salem in July 1954. The resultant constitution draft would be submitted to popular vote at the subsequent general election.

The Oregon constitution dates from 1859 and has been amended 113 times.

Arizona Reorganizes Executive Departments

Major steps toward state administrative reorganization in Arizona were taken recently by the legislature when it provided for the consolidation of a number of agencies and functions into three new administrative departments—finance, law and public health, welfare and correction.

Administrative reform was strongly supported by a special legislative committee on state operations,¹ which conducted a comprehensive study of state administrative organization, and by the leadership of both houses of the legislature, in which the Democrats have a substantial majority. Without the backing of the leadership, which customarily maintains a tight rein on legislative proceedings, the chances for favorable action on administrative change would have been remote. Governor Howard Pyle, a Republican, also endorsed reorganization.

A December 1949 report to the legislative committee by Griffenhagen and Associates recommended consolidation of most of the approximately 115 state agencies into five principal staff and auxiliary departments and ten principal line departments. The governor would appoint department

¹See the REVIEW, April 1951, page 207.

heads, subject to Senate confirmation. The report proposed that the department heads collectively serve as an executive cabinet. The governor was to be supplied with adequate staff aid. Recommendations were also made with respect to the legislature and judiciary, although the emphasis was upon administrative reorganization.

The first action based upon the report was taken last year when a special session of the legislature established the position of post auditor. The post auditor is named by the presiding officers of the two houses of the legislature, subject to confirmation by the membership. A law passed by the 1951 session provides for the transfer of the functions of the state examiner to the post auditor, contingent upon repeal of the section of the state constitution establishing the office of state examiner.

Constitutional amendments to abolish the office of state examiner, as well as that of state treasurer, will be submitted to the voters at the general election in November 1952, or sooner, if authorized by the next annual session, or a special session, of the legislature. The elimination of the office of treasurer, an elective post, is proposed in connection with establishment of the Department of Finance. A referendum measure passed by the state legislature for submission to popular vote proposes that members of the Board of Pardons and Paroles, which will be transferred to the new Department of Public Health, Welfare and Correction, be appointed by the governor.

Opposition to the reorganization program developed before adjournment of the legislature. Its leaders are now directing the circulation of referendum petitions which, if signed by the requisite percentage of the voters,

will require submission of the laws establishing the three new departments, as well as the act pertaining to the duties of the post auditor, to the voters at the next general election. Opponents believe they will have no difficulty in obtaining signatures equivalent to 5 per cent of the total vote for all candidates for governor in the last election, the minimum required by the constitution; if they are correct, the reorganization program will be held up at least until after the general election in November 1952.

The speaker of the lower house of the legislature was reported by the newspapers as saying that the move to refer the laws to popular action, if successful, will deprive numerous state functions of funds, as the financing of these activities is tied up in the budget with the new departments. He indicated that a special session may be called if it appears that the required number of signatures will be obtained. If repassed by a special session as emergency measures, the reorganization laws would not be subject to referendum proceedings.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

Maryland Administrative Study Group Established

Governor Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland has set up a Commission on the Administrative Organization of the State, on the basis of authority given by the 1947 legislature. The commission, appointed on March 3, 1951, consists of eleven members, headed by Simon E. Sobeloff, former city solicitor of Baltimore and U. S. district attorney. It includes prominent legal, financial, educational and governmental figures.

In announcing establishment of the commission the governor outlined its functions as including analysis of each

state agency's purpose and its relationship to other agencies, surveying of the operating procedures of each agency, evaluation of the effectiveness of the government in serving its citizens and recommendation of such changes as the commission finds necessary. The appointment of a larger advisory body to assist the commission was being considered by the governor.

Technical assistance is to be given the commission by a group composed of: Carl B. Swisher, professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University; Elwyn A. Mauck, director of the State Fiscal Research Bureau; Horace E. Flack, director of the Department of Legislative Reference; Malcolm Moos, associate professor of political science at Johns Hopkins University; D. Benton Biser, director of the Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy; and Herbert Fallin, Baltimore budget director.

Oregon Administrative Study Group Makes Final Report

Suggestions for reorganization of state administration in Oregon are contained in a third and final report of the Legislative Interim Committee on State Government Administration, *Suggested Studies for Reorganization in State Government*, submitted to the legislature February 16, 1951. It is a brief report without positive recommendations except for further study on the part of the legislature as to various general and specific suggestions.

On the same date there was also issued the committee's second report, *State Government Organization*, a 277-page analysis of the administrative structure. The initial report of the committee¹ dealt with state financial

reorganization and recommended many changes.

The final report stresses the existence of more than 125 separate statutory or constitutional state agencies and some twenty others that no longer function although still possessing legislative authorization. There are many cases where closely related services are performed by different agencies. Another point of criticism was the diffusion of executive responsibility. Six statewide officers are elected by the people; many boards have been established over the years, some of which are purely advisory but others have administrative duties. The report emphasizes the need of a more logical plan of organization.

One suggestion is for a constitutional study commission consisting of legislators and outstanding private citizens to study possible constitutional changes and to report to the next legislature. Specific points for study include: placing of direct executive responsibility in the governor; restriction on the number of permanent departments or bureaus; and a post-audit of the executive branch by an agency outside that branch.

Topics suggested for further legislative review, involving statutory additions or changes, are: abolition of inactive or obsolete agencies, consolidation of agencies, improved management of state records and coordination of field offices and services.

Michigan Voters Approve Annual Legislative Sessions

At the spring election April 2, the people of Michigan endorsed two proposed constitutional amendments and rejected a third.

The first provides for annual sessions of the legislature, which has heretofore held regular sessions in odd-numbered years and could meet

¹See the REVIEW, April 1951, page 209.

at other times only in response to a call for a special session by the governor, to consider only such matters as he specified. The legislature has actually met every year since 1940. It can now act every year on whatever it considers necessary, one such perennial topic being finances. The governor retains the power to call special sessions.

The other amendment adopted authorizes \$500 payments to the next of kin of members of the armed forces killed in line of duty in the present national emergency. A bonus to World War II veterans had been authorized in 1946.

The defeated proposal would have permitted State Supreme Court justices to have their salaries increased, but not decreased, during their term of office. Circuit court judges may now have such increases. Some recently elected Supreme Court justices receive more than justices longer in office, under present staggered eight year terms.

New York Creates Special Authority; Restricts Another

Shortly before adjournment the New York State legislature adopted measures to create a Long Island Transit Authority and authorize a Railroad Redevelopment Corporation. The latter would be a private corporation with certain tax exemptions; the main purpose envisaged is acquisition of the bankrupt Long Island Railroad Company in an attempt to operate it under private ownership. The Long Island Transit Authority, a public body, would be expected to aid the redevelopment corporation and would own and operate the railroad if it develops that private ownership is not feasible. Governor Dewey subsequently signed the bills.

On the same day an attempt to en-

large the powers of the New York City Parking Authority was defeated. The measure would have given the parking authority exclusive power to install and operate parking meters in New York City and to use the revenue therefrom to help finance a system of parking garages and other objectives, including an elevated expressway across Manhattan Island. The bill was urged by the city but was vigorously opposed by the Citizens Union and others, who pointed out that it would divest the city of proper powers and would tend to conflict with the city's Department of Traffic. One critic called it "home rule in reverse."

Nevada Legislature Approves Municipal Association

Both houses of the Nevada legislature have unanimously approved a bill authorizing cities to belong to the Nevada Municipal Association, to participate in its organization, to pay dues or service charges for its support and to send delegates to its conference and pay their expenses at the rate allowed state employees. The bill was sponsored by the association, which has thus far operated on a voluntary basis.

The next convention of the association is to be in Ely on June 15-16. Mayor Caro M. Pendergraft of Carson City is president and temporary executive director.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Greenville, South Carolina, (57,932) is expected to begin operating under the council-manager plan on October 8 as a result of recent state legislation. The city voted in favor of the plan in an advisory vote on November 7 of last year.

St. Clair Shores (19,785) and **Far-
mington** (2,312), **Michigan**, adopted
the manager plan by popular vote on
April 2.

Marinette, Wisconsin, (14,198) voted
on April 3 to adopt the council-
manager plan.

Santa Clara, California, (11,668)
voted 1,342 to 1,023 on April 2 in
approval of a council-manager charter.
There is to be a council of seven
elected at large for four-year terms;
it appoints the manager and chooses
one of its members as its presiding
officer, with the title of mayor. Coun-
cilmembers are the only elective officers.

Hot Springs, South Dakota, (4,980)
adopted the council-manager provi-
sions of the state enabling act by a
vote of 768 to 148 on March 20.

Oxford (1,625) and **Levant** (702),
Maine, adopted the council-manager
plan at recent town meetings.

Cornelius, Oregon, (997) which
adopted the manager plan in 1949, has
been added to the official list of such
cities.

At a town meeting on March 13
in **Charlestown, New Hampshire**, a
committee of five was appointed to
study the manager plan and report
to the 1952 town meeting.

Lancaster, New Hampshire, voted
447 to 317 to retain the manager plan
at its town meeting on March 13.

A manager proposal was rejected
at the March 13 town meeting in
Gorham, New Hampshire.

Rutland, Vermont, will vote on
adoption of the council-manager plan
at a special election in June.

Bennington, Vermont, at its town
meeting on March 6, voted almost
three to one to retain its manager
government. It rejected a plan for
consolidation of four governmental
units—Old Bennington, North Ben-
nington, Bennington town and Ben-
nington village.

Montpelier, the capital of **Vermont**,

by a vote of 879 to 672 on March 6,
discarded the council-manager plan,
under which it had operated since
1947. There was a negative majority
in each of the six wards. A salary of
\$3,600 for Mayor A. F. Barber, re-
elected to his third term, was author-
ized at the city meeting, which was
held in the evening. An effort to in-
crease the salary of the six aldermen
from \$150 to \$250 per annum was de-
feated, as was a proposal to amend
the charter to provide a council of
four members and the mayor, all
elected at large. It was decided by
voice vote to cut the tax rate, partly
on the dubious theory that by saving
the salary of the manager the over-all
cost of government would be less, and
partly because of additional revenue
expected from taxes on new build-
ings. It was decided to have the coun-
cil appoint a committee of five to re-
write the city charter.

A town manager proposal for
Swampscott, Massachusetts, was re-
jected 1,498 to 1,016 at the annual
election on March 19. The total vote
was about one-third of registration.
A committee appointed last year to
study the manager plan had recom-
mended approval of the manager prin-
ciple, with a specific plan to be worked
out and presented to the legislature.

At the annual town meeting on
March 17 in **Nahant, Massachusetts**,
the voters rejected the town manager
plan by a close margin. After a re-
count the vote was given as 453 in
favor and 473 against. A petition was
filed later, asking for a special town
meeting to consider the manager plan
again.

At the town meeting in **Amesbury**,
Massachusetts, in March a recom-
mendation of the Finance Committee
that a committee be appointed to
study the town manager plan was
adopted.

The voters of the town of **Holden**,
Massachusetts, have instructed the se-

selectmen to petition the state legislature for action on a proposed manager plan so that it may be presented to the town meeting next March.

Townsend, Massachusetts, at its town meeting March 5, voted to have the selectmen appoint a committee to study the manager plan and report next year.

At the town meeting in **North Andover, Massachusetts**, on March 17 a proposal for a study of the organization and administration of the town's departments was rejected. It had been recommended by the town manager study committee in a report advising against the manager plan at this time.

The Democratic majority of the common council of **Pawtucket, Rhode Island**, on March 14 tabled a minority resolution that a committee of four be appointed to study the council-manager plan. Previous motions to the same effect had died in committee.

Four council-manager charter proposals have been presented to the **Connecticut** legislature for action this year. They relate to **New Haven, New Britain, Watertown and Norwich**. For **New Haven**, besides the council-manager bill providing for a council of nine elected at large without party designation, there is a mayor-council proposal with a council of eight members elected by districts and seven elected at large. For **Norwich** a consolidation of the town and city is proposed, with a council of nine, six to be elected from the "city district" and three from the "town district."

The city council of **Albemarle, North Carolina**, has been authorized by the state legislature to hold a referendum on the question of adopting the council-manager plan. The vote is set for May 8.

Petitions have been circulated in **Kinston, North Carolina**, calling for abandonment of the council-manager

plan and reestablishment of the ward system of representation. The *Kinston Free Press* urges retention of the manager plan despite local criticisms.

Interest in the manager plan is evident in **Charleston, South Carolina**. Mayor W. E. Bynum of Sumter, South Carolina, manager city since 1912, reviewed the advantages and growth of the plan to the Charleston Lions Club in March.

In an advisory referendum March 28, **Savannah, Georgia**, voted 8,369 to 5,983 for the council-manager plan over the present mayor-alderman form. Led by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, citizens will circulate petitions for election of a commission to draft a charter under the new Georgia home rule law.

Dalton, Georgia, voters turned down an opportunity to get the manager plan.

The council-manager plan, adopted in 1948, was retained on April 3 by the voters of **Eau Claire, Wisconsin**, 5,122 to 3,562. The majority of 1,560 for retention was over 400 greater than that for the original adoption of the plan.

Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin, also voted to retain the council-manager plan at the April 3 election. The vote was 1,386 to 920, as compared to 1,488 to 681 in favor of the charter's adoption in 1930.

Green Bay, Wisconsin, defeated a proposal, on the ballot April 3, to adopt the state's optional manager plan provisions. The vote was 10,078 to 2,381.

A new **Tennessee** law facilitates referenda on abandonment of council-manager government. A petition of 20 per cent of the registered voters could call a referendum within 50 days after filing.

St. Charles, Missouri, voted 1,527 to 1,373 against adoption of statutory

provisions for the manager plan on April 3.

The **Kansas** legislature has amended one of that state's council-manager enabling acts to provide that the manager shall appoint and remove all non-elective department heads, officers and employees of the city.

Active interest in the manager plan for **Augusta, Kansas**, is reported by the *El Dorado Times*, which states, "with the recent passage of a new law by the present legislature the way has been cleared for Augusta to vote on the council-manager plan."

In **Snyder, Texas**, the Scurry County Chamber of Commerce is working for adoption of the council-manager plan.

Petitions requesting a vote on the council-manager plan are being circulated in **Florence, Colorado**.

The International City Managers' Association has removed **Drummondville, Longueuil and Riviere-du-Loup**, in the province of Quebec, from its list of manager cities because of failure of the city councils to fill the vacancy in the office of manager.

Manager Enabling Act in Arizona; Other New Laws

Arizona cities and towns may by ordinance create the office of city manager, according to a law enacted by the 1951 Arizona legislature, which adjourned recently. Councils are authorized to appoint the city or town manager and define his duties. The manager is to serve at the pleasure of the council and may be removed without cause by majority council vote.

At least two Arizona towns had created the office of manager or executive officer before enactment of the statute although, in the absence of state legal authorization, his powers were extremely limited. Joseph C. Furst, executive secretary of the Arizona Municipal League, which

sponsored the measure, believes that two or three additional Arizona towns and cities may soon adopt manager ordinances. Phoenix and Tucson have council-manager charters, adopted on the basis of the municipal home rule section of the state constitution.

Several other laws in the municipal field sponsored by the Arizona Municipal League were enacted. Cities and towns obtained legislative permission to seek the coverage of the federal old-age and survivors' insurance program for their officers and employees. Municipal councils may now adopt lengthy regulatory codes by reference instead of, as formerly, paragraph by paragraph, after the printing of the proposals in full. The authority to adopt by reference, it is believed, will facilitate adoption of various uniform codes.

Mandatory segregation of Negro pupils in Arizona public elementary schools has been ended by the legislature. Local school boards now have authority to decide whether to separate Negro and white pupils. Shortly after enactment of the law trustees of the Tucson school district, one of the largest in the state, went on record as favoring an end of segregation "at the earliest possible time."

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

Philadelphia Adopts Home Rule Charter

At a special election on April 17 the citizens of Philadelphia approved the home rule charter¹ drafted by the fifteen-member charter commission authorized by the 1949 state legislature. The vote (unofficial) was 259,656 to 139,439.

Two separate questions were also answered affirmatively. A seventeen-

¹See the REVIEW, May 1949, page 240; October 1950, page 455; March 1951, page 150.

member council, partly elected at large, was approved, 246,407 to 140,766, to replace the recent body of 22 members elected from eight districts. Abolition of the elective office of receiver of taxes, in favor of an appointed revenue commission, was authorized 238,179 to 140,929.

Los Angeles Administrative Officer Proposed

At an election to be held in Los Angeles, California, on May 29 six proposed charter amendments and three bond propositions will be voted on. Outstanding among the proposed amendments is one providing for a city administrative officer, to be appointed by the mayor, subject to confirmation by the city council. Together with two assistants whom he would be empowered to appoint, the administrative officer would be exempt from the usual civil service requirements, but it is specified that he "shall have administrative and executive ability as demonstrated by five years' experience at the executive or administrative level." He would be removable by the mayor with the consent of a majority of council members or by the council alone by two-thirds of its members. Written notice of grounds for removal, and the right of a hearing, are provided for.

Mayor Fletcher Bowron and other city officials recommend establishment of this office to "direct, coordinate and expedite business administration, leaving general managers and other administrative officers free to devote more time and attention to functional operations." The Los Angeles "little Hoover commission" (Commission for Reorganization of the City Government) also recommends it; A. L. Weil, chairman, signed a statement that "it is an improvement over the ordinary city manager proposal—tailored to fit the particular require-

ments of our great city." He listed the proposed duties of the new office as including budget planning, budget control, administrative research, procedural analysis, form design, personnel management and direction of central services such as purchasing, transportation, communication, printing, duplicating, clerical pools, etc. He would not have control over the "operating departments," however, and would have no powers or duties applicable to the proprietary departments (water and power, harbor, and airport).

Opponents include a member of the commission's "task force" that dealt with such subjects, who charges that the proposal is hasty, ill-considered, and has never been submitted to the task force concerned; that it is not a real city manager plan but merely a provision for a mayor's assistant with special powers.

The other proposed charter amendments deal with increase of employees' retirement benefits, leasing of airport property and civil service exemption for four aids to the general manager of the Department of Water and Power.

Georgia Adopts Home Rule Law

The 1951 Georgia legislature has passed a home rule law for municipalities. Under it cities may, by ordinance of the council or an initiative petition of 30 per cent of the registered voters, place on the ballot the question of drafting a new charter or they may vote to continue their present charter but with power to amend it?

Chicago Grand Jury Probes Aided by New Law

The Illinois General Assembly on March 28 enacted a bill extending the possible term of grand juries in Cook

(Continued on page 269)

County and Township Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Nevada Approves County Manager Plan

*System Now Available to
All Those Over 10,000*

ON MARCH 21 Governor Charles H. Russell of Nevada signed legislation which will permit all counties of 10,000 population and more to adopt the county manager plan of government. It was said to be an emergency measure for Washoe County, but Las Vegas, Clark and Elko Counties also have populations above 10,000 and thus would be enabled to secure the manager plan.

The salary of the manager would be determined by the county commissioners but they could pay no more than \$9,000 nor less than \$5,000 per year. The manager's qualifications would include graduation from an accredited four-year institution with a degree in public administration or business management plus "at least four years of progressively responsible experience in administrative management or related activities." He would hold office at the pleasure of the board.

Iowa County Government Under Fire

The Des Moines *Register*, in an editorial, "Counties are Most Out-of-Date of All," recently observed:

"We are glad the Iowa 'little Hoover commission' is thinking about recommending reorganization of county governments as well as the state government.

"County government in Iowa is even more cumbersome and rickety than

the state government, and less nearly up to date. But hitherto it has been a sacred cow to the legislature because of the legend that counties are 'good' and cities are 'bad.'

"The close political ties between county officers and legislative candidates reinforce this feeling of solidarity, and make it harder for legislators to see the beam in the county setup's eye.

"Talk about the inefficiency of the three-man commissions which are still so common in the state government! Look at the counties, with their three to seven supervisors sharing responsibility with more than half a dozen separately elected officials!

"Wow!"

County Officers Urged to Lead in Local Improvement

A recent issue of *The County Officer*, published by the National Association of County Officials, devoted its leading editorial to the discussions of county government that took place at the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government in Buffalo last November. Entitled "Just to Keep Us on the Alert," it gave the League credit for "substantial contribution to better government across the nation," but it urged its own members to take the lead in improving their respective county governments. It urged them to adopt elements of plans conceived and developed elsewhere, pointing out that the best thinking of the country is available to every county official. It concluded that the county official's responsibility was to adapt this best thinking to the needs of his community.

Counties Cooperate in Highway Research

The requirements of the Federal Aid Highway Act pertaining to state-local cooperation in highway planning has resulted in establishment of a research project to explore the problems of administration involved. Participants are the Federal Bureau of Public Roads, Council of State Governments, American Municipal Association, Automotive Safety Foundation and the National Association of County Officials. County officials long have complained of domination by state highway departments, unnecessarily high standards and the neglect of rural roads.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 267)

County from 30 to 90 days. The state's attorney, the chief justice of the criminal court or the grand jury itself may petition for two 30-day extensions to investigate crimes taken up during the original 30-day term.

This measure is one of five proposals advocated by the Chicago Crime Commission for several years past to strengthen criminal law enforcement in Cook County. In previous sessions the entire program was killed by the opposition of a group of legislators from Chicago. The original proposal called for possible extension to 180 days—the limitation on grand juries in each of Illinois' 101 other counties. The 90-day compromise and the public clamor resulted in enactment. The other proposals deal with alibis, perjury, self-incrimination immunity and penalizing public officers who refuse to waive immunity when being investigated. With the current session nearing its end, the question is how many, if any, of the remaining proposals will "get through" this session.

EDWARD M. MARTIN,
Civic Affairs Director

Norfolk Undertakes Large Expansion

The city council of Norfolk, Virginia, has approved initiation of court proceedings, under the established Virginia method of annexation, to take in additional territory of 15.76 square miles containing some 45,000 people. If the courts are persuaded that the annexation is justified it would make Norfolk the largest city in Virginia both in area and population.

PACH Opens New York Office

The Public Administration Clearing House, of 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago, has opened an office in New York City at 45 East 65th Street, to serve its expanded program in international administration. The office is under the supervision of Dr. Rowland Egger, former director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, now associate director of the Clearing House.

International Civil Service Code Drafted

Representatives from 21 countries attended the first conference under the United Nations program of training in public administration for civil servants, from November 1950 to January 1951, inclusive. The *Newsletter* of the Civil Service Assembly reports:

"During the last month of the conference a document was developed which might aptly be termed the first international civil service code. Beginning with statements on the organization and functions of public personnel agencies, the report makes general policy recommendations about all the major aspects of personnel administration."

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

141 California Cities Levy Sales Tax

Study Shows \$31,000,000 Taken in Last Fiscal Year

SALES and use taxes imposed by California cities yielded nearly \$31,500,000 in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1950, the fifth since the excise began to gain in popularity following its adoption by Santa Barbara. As compared with five cities using the tax in fiscal 1945-46, there were 138 in fiscal 1949-50, with additions since bringing the total to 141 as of January 1, 1951.

The 141 cities imposing the sales tax at the beginning of 1951 contain nearly 56 per cent of the state's population and are estimated to contain 70 per cent of all outlets licensed under the California state sales and use tax law to sell tangible personal property. They include six of the eight cities with populations exceeding 100,000—only Long Beach and Sacramento are excluded—and 21 of the 26 cities with populations of 25,000 to 100,000. In the 10,000-25,000 population group 50 of the state's 70 cities have a sales tax and 25 of the 44 cities between 5,000 and 10,000 use it. Only among the smaller municipalities are there more cities without the sales tax than with it—22 out of 61 in the 2,500 to 5,000 group and 17 out of 95 under 2,500.

The most popular sales tax rate remains at $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent. However, two cities levy at a $\frac{3}{4}$ of 1 per cent rate and 38 levy at a 1 per cent rate. The highest rate is levied by Needles, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The state sales tax rate is 3 per cent, and most of the cities

use the same tax base, although frequently they exempt specific commodities subject to the state tax and they universally exempt sales to non-residents.

According to a study by the California State Board of Equalization,¹ yields on a per capita basis for each $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent of city sales tax ranged from a low of \$1.10 in San Pablo to \$23.27 in Walnut Creek, the former representing a new tax in a newly incorporated city and the latter the collections in a rapidly developing area on the fringe of the Oakland metropolitan area.

Among the larger cities, per capita collections in 1949-50 were \$5.04 for Los Angeles, \$5.99 for San Francisco, \$4.94 for San Diego, \$4.85 for Oakland and \$6.13 for Pasadena. For all the cities, the median figure was \$4.84 per capita. Interestingly enough, those cities using a 1 per cent rate did not gain twice the average per capita yield from a $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent unit of tax; the median yield per $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent unit of tax for cities with 1 per cent rates was \$4.66 per capita, or from the full 1 per cent \$9.32 per capita.

Statewide, the city sales tax collections are estimated to reach about 75 per cent of the sales taxed under the state sales and use tax law, the ratios in individual cities varying from about 41 per cent to over 97 per cent. Few of the cities resort to comprehensive audit of sales tax returns, and differing bases contribute also to local

¹*What's Next in Local Sales Taxes? A Second Supplement to City Sales Taxes in California.* Sacramento, State Board of Equalization, Division of Research and Statistics. January 1951.

failure to tax all the sales reached by the state.

Proposals for increasing the administrative efficiency of local sales taxes, and for eliminating the difficulties inherent in a given area when some of the cities use it and some do not, have for several years centered in methods of integrating the local tax with that of the state. Under one setup, the tax would be collected with the state tax as a "supplement" where enacted by the city governing body and the city share returned to the city. Under another proposal, the supplement would be levied statewide, with the portion collected within cities returned to the respective units and that collected from establishments in unincorporated areas turned over to the counties. A state-collected supplement distributed on a per capita basis has also been considered.

Use of Pennsylvania's Act 481 Continues to Gain

The extensive grant of authority to local units in Pennsylvania to develop virtually all revenues not already preempted by the state, originally conferred by Act 481 of 1947 and somewhat curtailed by the 1949 legislature, still is popular. This is shown by a recent study indicating a gain of 293 units using the tax since the 1949 amendment and an increase of approximately 400 in the number of levies imposed.

A total of 1,025 local units were using the act as of January 1, 1951, according to the study.¹ In all, there are 3,572 units of local government eligible to use it. While 41 of the state's 49 cities are making use of some revenues under the act, as well as

23 of the 59 first class townships, there were only 251 of the 940 boroughs and 710 of the 2,524 school districts imposing taxes under the act's authority. There were 142 instances of the act's use by coterminous school districts and municipalities.

In all, 1,306 separate taxes were being imposed under the act at the beginning of 1951. The most numerous were per capita taxes, numbering 506 and including mainly adoptions following the prohibition of severance taxes under the 1949 amendment to the act. The most common per capita tax rate was \$5 but rates above \$10 were not lacking. Amusement taxes were levied by 260 units, income taxes by 230, and taxes on mechanical devices by 104, to mention those used by more than 100 units. By type of levying unit, 855 of the taxes were levied by the school districts, 349 by the boroughs, 77 by the cities and 25 by the townships.

In terms of tax yield, returns are partly on a calendar year basis and partly on the school district split year. For the calendar year 1949, city, borough and township collections totaled \$16,871,598, while for the school districts 1949-50 collections under the act were \$6,731,978. Of the combined total of \$23,603,576, income taxes accounted for \$10,101,062, mercantile and business taxes for \$4,570,376, amusement taxes for \$4,954,499 and per capita taxes for \$1,880,254, to mention the largest.

States Act on Gas Taxes

Legislatures of four states raised gasoline tax rates and two lowered them in 1951 session actions reported to the end of March. Rates were raised from four to five cents per gallon in North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming. In Georgia and

¹*Taxes Levied Under Act 481.* Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs. January 1951.

New Mexico rates were reduced from seven cents to six cents per gallon.

Tantamount to a hike in rates also was the action of the Kansas legislature, which continued for another two years the five cents per gallon rate there. According to the Federation of Tax Administrators, the rate was scheduled to decline to four cents on June 30, 1951.

Saginaw to Vote on Income Tax

Voters of Saginaw, Michigan, are scheduled to decide at an election May 22, 1951, whether the city shall impose a municipal income and net profits tax. A majority vote is required to pass the measure.

Proposed is a tax of 1 per cent on all earned income—personal, business and corporate. Proceeds are estimated to approximate \$1,600,000 per year and will be earmarked for construction of a sewage disposal system and other improvements. The tax would take effect January 1, 1952, and be levied for a period of ten years.

State, Local Pay Rates Increased

A large majority of state and local governmental agencies responded to increased living costs during 1950 by raising wage and salary levels, according to a sample study reported by the Civil Service Assembly. Of some 150 agencies queried, at least 102 cities and states made increases, chiefly after the outbreak of the Korean hostilities. Inflation and the need to meet competition for manpower were both factors.

Some 75 per cent of the 115 cities studied reported increases for all employees, while 8 per cent raised the salaries of only certain groups. Special groups benefiting were chiefly police and fire employees and the craft

and skilled trades. Raises for the latter group were based generally on the prevailing rates paid for similar jobs in private industry. Sacramento, California, for example, raised the pay of skilled workers to conform to rates set forth in contracts between unions and private employees.

Formulas used by cities to grant general wage raises differed widely. Approximately half the municipalities reporting salary increases gave flat raises applying equally to all levels. For example, in Dallas, Texas, all salaries were boosted \$10 monthly and in Nashville, Tennessee, wages of all employees were raised \$25 monthly effective January 1. The average monthly increase for the cities giving flat, across-the-board raises was \$15.30, the study showed.

Thirty cities reported applying increases on a percentage basis. Glendale, California, upped all salaries 5 per cent last October and a 4 per cent increase was effective in Winnetka, Illinois, on January 1. Pittsburgh gave the majority of its clerical and white collar workers a 10 per cent increase on their first \$3,600. Average increase for cities determining pay boosts on a percentage basis was 7 per cent.

Some cities based their raises on a cost-of-living plan, on an index or on the basis of a salary survey. In Milwaukee, a formal cost-of-living pay plan tied in with the consumer price index resulted in salary increases for all city employees of \$16.88 per month effective January 1.

At the state level, less than half the 40 personnel agencies surveyed, representing 36 states, granted general pay increases. In large part, this was because few legislatures met in regular session in 1950. Those agencies granting increases did so chiefly on a

(Continued on page 275)

Proportional Representation*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

**P. R. Wins First Rounds
in Cincinnati Battle*****Attacks Dismissed by Ohio
Court and Secretary of State***

PROPONENTS of proportional representation in Cincinnati have won the first two rounds in a battle to continue the use of the Hare system for the election of councilmen under the city's council-manager charter.

On February 13 Robert P. Goldman, George E. Fee and Morison R. Waite, attorneys appearing as *amici curie* at the request of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, asked dismissal of the suit filed November 13, which was based on the alleged conflict between Cincinnati's P. R. provisions and the office type ballot amendment adopted in 1949 for Ohio general elections.¹ Eight days later the court, without reference to the substance of the pleading, dismissed the case on technical grounds.

On March 5 Colonel C. O. Sherrill, former city manager of Cincinnati, announced himself as head of an otherwise unnamed committee against P. R., and asked the secretary of state to determine and prescribe that the form of ballot in next fall's election be the office type ballot and not the P. R. ballot provided in the Cincinnati charter. A week later Messrs. Goldman, Fee and Waite filed arguments in opposition to the request with the attorney general, to whom the secretary of state had referred the matter for an opinion.

The secretary of state dismissed the request on April 6 but by inference

suggested that the matter be brought to the Supreme Court for a ruling. That same day attorneys for the Sherrill group filed a petition for writ of mandamus in the Ohio Supreme Court to command the secretary of state to determine and prescribe the office type ballot for council elections. As defendants in the case the plaintiff included members of the local board of elections and the city of Cincinnati.

The City Charter Committee will, of course, continue its efforts in behalf of P. R.

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

***Danes Use P. R.
for Upper House***

Approximately 650,000 Danish voters elected 2,070 electors in April, these electors choosing 28 members of the 76-member upper house (Landsting) of the Danish parliament. Both elections are conducted by P. R., the latter by the single transferable vote, known in Denmark as the Andrae system and elsewhere as the Hare system from its two independent inventors. The last time voters in the districts involved chose such electors was in 1943, during the German occupation.

The returns show only slight changes from the distribution of votes by parties in the lower house (Folketing) elections of September 5, 1950. The Social Democratic party obtained 38.5 per cent of the votes as against 37.6 per cent in 1950; the Farmers' Liberals dropped to 24.3 per cent from 24.7 per cent in 1950; the Conservatives obtained 17.3 per cent as against 17.2 per cent; and the Liberals' poll was unchanged per-

¹See the REVIEW, February 1951, page 103.

Danish Landsting Elections of April 1951

Party	Votes	Percentage of Votes	Electors	Percentage of Electors
Social Democratic	261,583	38.5	820	39.6
Farmers' Liberal	162,508	24.3	553	26.7
Conservative	115,654	17.3	356	17.4
Left Liberal	58,400	8.3	158	7.6
Single Tax	48,952	7.4	131	6.3
Communist	19,216	2.9	32	1.5
German Minority	6,813	1.0	20	1.0

centagewise at 8.6 per cent. The Single Tax party obtained 7.4 per cent as against 8.2 per cent in 1950; the Communists obtained 2.9 per cent as against 3.1 per cent; and the German Minority party obtained 1 per cent as against 0.6 per cent. The vote for electors in 1951 is tabulated above.

France May Drop P. R.

As the term of France's first P. R. parliament, elected in 1946, nears its end, revision of the electoral law to affect the outcome of the approaching election has become a major national issue. Disturbed by the size of the Communist forces on the left and those of General deGaulle on the right, the other parties are endeavoring to distort the electoral system deliberately so as to give these forces less than their share. The parliamentary crises last March which resulted in Premier Queuille forming a cabinet, arose principally from disagreement over what form of unproportional representation should be adopted in place of the present P.R. list system.

Attempts to restore the single-member district system, under which France was governed for most of the period 1875-1939, failed to obtain majority support in the Chamber of Deputies. The greatest difficulty was experienced over the question whether

a mere plurality vote or a majority vote should be required for election under the proposed single-member district system. The latter requirement would usually necessitate a run-off election under political conditions prevailing in France.

The proposal adopted by the Chamber and sent to the Senate in the first part of April provides a complicated method reminiscent of the modified block-vote system used in the elections of 1919 and 1924 and thereafter abandoned.¹ Multi-member constituencies and a party list ballot, as at present, are to be provided, but if any single party or any combination of parties declaring themselves allied in the particular constituency obtain a majority of the votes cast, such party or combination is to have all the representation for the district instead of only representation proportional to votes, and all minority representation will be excluded in that constituency. When a victory is won by a combination of parties, the seats are to be shared by the victors in proportion

¹"This system gave a sweeping majority to the *bloc national* in 1919 and, by a malicious turn of fate, gave a similar exaggeration to the triumph of the Radicals and Socialists in 1924." W. L. Middleton, *The French Political System*. E. P. Dutton & Company, New York, 1933, page 100.

to the votes polled by the victorious parties. If, however, no party or declared combination of parties obtains a majority, seats will be apportioned in proportion to votes as at present. Paris, apparently, is to elect proportionately whether any party or combination gets a majority or not.

Since the parties are permitted to combine differently in different districts in order to achieve exclusion of their arch-adversaries, it seems likely, in view of the experience under the similar system used in 1919 and 1924, that few districts outside of Paris will provide any minority representation.

It is expected that under the system the Communists, who have few allies, would be excluded from representation in most districts. The system will probably also work to the disadvantage of General deGaulle and his followers—who are found in many parts of the country and not concentrated in any particular section. On the other hand, news reports indicate large scale defections in the Communist following in France, such as has been reflected in other countries in elections in the last few years, so that a great reduction in the Communist delegation in the Chamber of Deputies would probably result even if the P. R. system used in 1946 were retained.

Washington Member of P. R. Advisory Council Dies

Oliver T. Erickson, one of the leading proportionalists on the west coast, died early this year. He was a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League from 1921 until the time of his death. Mr. Erickson was a well known civic figure in Seattle and served from 1911 to 1931, except for one term, as a member of the city council, which adopted a memorial resolution in his

honor. He was long an active member of the Seattle Municipal League.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 272)

percentage basis. Nebraska's Merit System Council, for example, raised the salary of all employees under its jurisdiction by 5 per cent.

Sales Tax Raised in New York City

The bitterly contested proposal of the city administration to increase the New York City sales and use tax from 2 per cent to 3 per cent was concluded the second week in April when the necessary city ordinances were enacted making the rate hike effective May 1. In the city council the vote was nineteen to six, while the board of estimate concurred unanimously.

The rate increase is expected by city budget-makers to provide \$60,000,000 of the additional \$71,000,000 of new revenues needed to balance the executive budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1951. The budget, providing appropriations totaling \$1,336,000,000, was the fifth in succession to exceed the one billion dollar mark.

Authority to increase the sales tax rate was granted by the New York legislature in its closing session in a bill signed later by Governor Dewey with the expressed hope that the city would not find it necessary to use the full 3 per cent rate authorized.¹ Vicious opposition was spearheaded by an anti-sales tax committee representing a number of retail, business and labor groups. The city's right to use the sales tax under state law expires June 30, 1952, so that further contention on the issue is expected at next year's legislative session.

¹See the REVIEW, April 1951, page 218.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Organized Citizens Beat Reunited Machine

Kansas City Vote Returns Reform Slate to Council

KANSAS CITY has scored again.

For the sixth successive time organized citizens have won over the Pendergast machine in the election of council and mayor under the city's council-manager charter. By a vote of 68,065 to 55,413, eight of the nine candidates supported by the Citizens Association, including Mayor William E. Kemp, were elected.

Up to a year ago the reform element comprised a somewhat loosely organized group which swung into action at election time but whose activities subsided when the fight was over. Early in 1950, however, under the guidance of former Mayor John B. Gage, the Citizens Association was organized on a permanent basis.¹

Kansas City adopted the council-manager plan in 1926 but for fourteen years the citizens were unable to throw off the yoke of Boss Pendergast. In 1940, when Pendergast was finally sent to prison, a nonpartisan council pledged to good government was elected, a competent city manager was appointed, and the charter was at last honored by its observance instead of its breach.

The candidates of the Citizens Association this year, for the first time since 1940, faced a united machine. Since Pendergast's imprisonment, two factions contended for power—the remains of the Pendergast machine led by his nephew and the group led by

Charles Binnagio. The gang murder of the latter, however, resolved this division of the spoils crowd.

The imprisonment in January 1951 of a former county assessor who was a machine leader, the murder of Binnagio, the hearings of the Kefauver committee, the frauds in the Democratic primary election of August 1946 with its subsequent indictment of 108 persons by state and federal grand juries for those frauds, and the blasting in 1947 of the vault in the courthouse office of the Kansas City Election Board and the theft of the incriminating ballots—an unsolved crime to this day—all reacted in favor of the Citizens slate.

A declaration by one of the machine candidates that its ticket would consult the "party leaders," and be guided by them in the conduct of city affairs; a promise to dismiss all the "experts" in the city hall, which meant destruction of the merit system; and several other statements equally dismal indicated to the voters what might be expected if the candidates backed by the machine were elected.

The machine this year gained 3,500 votes over its 1946 total and 1,500 over the 1942 total. On the other side, the Citizens ticket gained 4,200 in 1951 over 1946, and fell nearly 17,000 below the 1942 total. An overcast rainy day caused some voter apathy in districts which normally cast large majorities for the Citizens candidates.

One of the strongest influences in the election was the *Kansas City Star*, which conducted an all-out campaign for the Citizens ticket.

The big question left unsettled by the election is "why are 55,413 people [those voting the machine ticket] dissatisfied with a city government which,

¹See the REVIEW, July 1950, page 360.

eleven years, has brought Kansas City from a state of bankruptcy and from the lowest possible level of political corruption to a sound financial position and to a place at the top of the list of well governed cities?" The answer may be (1) a well organized political machine, (2) lack of knowledge of the real facts, and (3) apathy on the part of the voters.

This spring's election means that Kansas City may look forward to the continuation of its good government regime for four more years (in 1949 the term of office for mayor and council was changed from two to four years), a total of fifteen consecutive years of honest, competent administration.

Gold Feather' Day Brings Out the Vote

Adding another "feather in its cap," the League of Women Voters of Des Moines promoted "Gold Feather" day at the general election in November,¹ in a dramatic and successful effort to secure a large vote. Almost a thousand women worked on the project, reports Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, voters' service chairman for the league, either in the telephone campaign to get out the vote or at the polls distributing gold feathers to those who voted. The slogan was "Wear a gold feather with pride."

Volunteers for the telephone campaign were secured from the league and from clubs and churches. These women were sent 30 names from the telephone directory with a letter of instruction. The radio, newspapers, civic organizations, churches and the

political parties all urged citizens to cast their ballots.

Two stores gave special window displays and a number used the gold feather in their advertising during the week preceding election. Some 500 posters, prepared and distributed by the League of Women Voters, were displayed in store windows.

Retail stores opened 45 minutes later than usual so that employees would have ample opportunity to go to the polls but insisted that employees report for work wearing a gold feather. Because those living outside the city limits were unhappy about this provision, the league hopes to extend its gold feather distribution at the polls to the rest of the county in future elections.

While the league ordered 50,000 feathers, basing its estimate of need on the previous year's vote of 37,000, by late afternoon volunteers at the voting booths were calling for more. The final count showed a record vote of 50,407.

New Organizations

Representatives from six cities and towns interested in securing home rule for Rhode Island municipalities have formed the Rhode Island Home Rule Association. The group will back the governor's optional charter bill and his measure which proposes a home rule amendment to the constitution. Amos L. Lachapelle, chairman of the Citizens League of Pawtucket, has been named temporary chairman. Communities represented at the meeting were Barrington, Central Falls, Cranston, Newport, Pawtucket and Warwick. Citizen groups in East Providence, Jamestown, North Kingstown and Westerly have announced they will join the organization.

Haverhill, Massachusetts, citizens have organized the Haverhill Civic

¹See "Des Moines Drops Own Plan," the REVIEW, June 1949, page 269; also the REVIEW, February 1951, page 66.

²See "Drama Gets Out the Vote," the REVIEW, March 1949, page 116.

Association—The Citizens' Committee for Good Government, with Dr. Aram S. Gulezian as president and John R. Knapp as director. The group is planning a membership campaign for the immediate future and a political campaign to start in the early fall.

* * *

True or False

"True or False" is a "brief quiz presenting pertinent questions on government and introducing the league's program for 1951," says the Cleveland Citizens League in *Greater Cleveland*. A sample question and answer:

Our local government is in good shape with an up-to-date, sound organization and satisfactory services; there are no problems to get excited about and the citizen can relax. True ___ or False ___

False. Cleveland was not elected to the list of eleven all-American cities this year because (1) it has not made substantial progress against pressing problems of traffic, transportation and parking, river and lake pollution and lake-front development, or sanitation and sewage disposal; (2) it has not created an agency for metropolitan government and has not revamped an outmoded form of county government; (3) it has not shortened the long confusing ballot.

League objective No. 3: *Through some fourteen committees composed of local citizens, the League will seek to stimulate community action to improve these conditions and to call public attention to local government needs and goals.*

* * *

The Politician and His Time

How do politicians use their "free" time? asks the Philadelphia Commit-

tee of Seventy in its *Civic Affairs*. "Many agencies, including grand juries, bureau and department heads and the Committee of Seventy have never been able to answer this question fully," says the bulletin. "But according to the studies made by our committee, it is apparent that not many of them put in regular hours on the job for which the citizens are paying them, nor do they use their time to inform the people concerning the platforms of their party, the merits of the candidates or the political policies for which they claim to stand." The committee recommends as a remedy "a job appraisal—a study of all jobs in the city and county to determine the actual amount of work to be done, the number of employees actually needed to do that work and the fitness of those on the payrolls."

* * *

Appraising Aldermen

The Citizens' Association of Chicago has made an "Appraisal of Aldermanic Activity in the 1947-51 City Council." "During this term of office," comments the council's bulletin, "the city council and the administration generally have cooperated to set in motion a progressive modernization of city government—centralized purchasing and control of contracts, reorganized traffic safety and police procedures, a modern building code and more efficient building inspection," etc. Certain aldermen were commended for outstanding individual effort. A table sets forth the number of years each alderman has served, his "rating of service in the council," and the total meetings—council, committee and subcommittee—he has attended. The association made recommendations on aldermanic candidates for the 1951 election.

Potpourri

The Commonwealth Club of California reprints in *The Commonwealth*, a weekly publication, "The Message at Founded" the club—a paper by founder Edward F. Adams, read at the first meeting on February 3, 1903. Said Mr. Adams, "I believe the time is now ripe for permanent organization upon an important scale for the concentration of the influence of the best citizenship of California, not for the purpose of promoting this or that or any particular reform but for promoting the consideration and discussion of all important measures upon their real merits and contributing what we can to such discussion."

"Watch us grow!" says the Seattle Municipal League. Five years ago, in 1946, a total of 134 league committee meetings were held with a total attendance of 862. In 1950 the number of meetings had grown to 198, with an attendance of 2,219.

"It takes 9 good men to make a good ball club" and "It takes 9 'yes' votes to make a better Flint," slogans the Civic Research Council of Flint, Michigan, in its leaflet urging passage of nine bond proposals providing money for needed city improvements. The council endorsed the bond program unanimously.

Seeking to secure adoption of more of the Hoover Commission's recommendations for efficiency and economy in the federal government, the Greater New York Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report is asking citizens to write their congressmen and senators, urging passage of proposed legislation. Terming such action "your second ballot," the committee has issued a circular containing maps of the five counties within the city, showing congressional districts and the names of congressmen from each, for the convenience of those who would follow the suggestion.

"A manual for persons concerned with determining questions of United States citizenship, with special reference to the applicable provisions of the constitution and laws of the state of Washington relating to qualifications for voting" is the purpose of *United States Citizenship and Qualifications for Voting in Washington* (94 pages). It was prepared by Ernest H. Campbell and George D. Smith for the Washington Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, and published by the University of Washington Press, Seattle, at \$1.50.

The February 1951 issue of *Citizens and Their Schools* is a special edition reporting the second annual meeting of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools held in January of this year. This is the fourth issue of the new publication which began in November 1950. It is devoted to "news for people working for better schools in their communities."

The American Council for the Community, with headquarters in New York, has begun publication of a new quarterly, *Communities, U. S. A.—A Journal of Community Development*. The first issue features several stories on activities in particular localities.

"The salvation of the state is in the watchfulness of the citizen." "Thus reads the inscription over the main entrance of the state capitol," reports the *Bulletin* of the Governmental Research Institute of Lincoln, Nebraska. "Is it intended merely as a decorative motto or does it express one of the real fundamentals of American government from the nation on down?" The ensuing discussion comments on citizen organizations elsewhere which have been doing yeoman service and asks "Should Lincoln have a Citizens' League? . . . The sentiment seems rather widespread among those interested in good government."

Researcher's Digest Edited by John E. Bebout

Cities Must Act During Cold War

*Keep Up Maintenance
Canada Institute Warns*

IN AN open letter on "Municipal Objectives for 1951," dated March 8, President J. T. Bryden and Director Eric Hardy, of the Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, discuss the implications of the present international situation and defense program for municipal governments. While recognizing and stressing "the need for renewed economies and fearless elimination of waste and extravagance," the letter warns that the nature of the present emergency necessitates a different approach to municipal economy than that dictated by the last war.

"The current emphasis on thrift and the increasing restrictions on municipal undertakings are strongly reminiscent of the conditions under which local authorities operated in the war years. But there are special responsibilities and constructive opportunities which contrast sharply with wartime objectives. It is important, therefore, for civic officials to view the coming year as something more than a period of forced inaction, to see wider opportunities than the work of civil defense.

"During the war, municipal authorities, for lack of men and materials, postponed even normal maintenance of streets and sidewalks, parks and playgrounds, school and municipal buildings. It was a sensible move and contributed in no small measure to the winning of the war.

"What was good strategy in war, however, is hardly a wise policy today when physical facilities should be kept

in good condition and ready for any eventuality. Indeed, the neglect which maintenance work is suffering in many municipalities is becoming a cause for genuine alarm.

"There are two important reasons for this growing weakness in municipal budgeting. First of all, when economies are demanded, maintenance expenditures are among the easiest to slash while efforts to curtail services or eliminate frills nearly always run counter to some voters' interests. Secondly, the cost of repair work and general upkeep is steadily rising and budget-makers appear reluctant to recognize the amounts required to do an adequate job at current price levels.

"To guard against this weakness, the institute recommends that in all municipal budgets top priority be given to maintenance expenditures. While all-out hostilities can be avoided, adequate maintenance should, we believe, be recognized as an essential part of civil preparedness."

The letter insists that although municipalities must forego many capital undertakings some essential projects should be pushed forward, particularly in areas of rapid urban expansion. Obviously going on the assumption that it is not possible to think of the present international tension in terms of a short, acute emergency, the report continues: "In wartime, it was a case of building only what was needed to get by temporarily. Today is no time to indulge in expensive ornamentation, yet whatever we need to build should be carefully planned and constructed on a scale to serve for a good number of years. Half measures will prove to be nothing more than false economy."

The letter stresses the fact that the present situation accentuates the necessity for careful long term municipal planning and for reorganization and simplification of local government structure so as to reduce the number of more or less independent elected and appointed authorities, consolidate responsibilities and secure better organization of administrative departments. Attributing the existence of many separate authorities to "fear of politics" the letter asserts "experience has long since demonstrated that the results have not generally been beneficial." The council-manager plan is credited with having "done a good deal toward streamlining civic operations" in American cities and in the 36 manager municipalities in Canada.

Milwaukee Bureau Prescribes Facts, Teamwork, True Economy

The Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee held its 37th annual meeting this winter. In its report to that meeting, published in the bureau's *Bulletin* of January 30, Director Norman N. Gill explains the past and projected operations of the bureau in a manner which goes a long way toward explaining why this organization is still growing in influence.

Here are excerpts from the report: "This 37th annual meeting marks the third time in the bureau's history that the nation is girding itself for defense. As on the two previous occasions since the bureau's establishment in 1913, we pledge full cooperation with our local governments in whatever tasks are required of us in the interest of national security.

"At the same time we shall redouble our efforts to assist in keeping our local government house in order. In a world of conflicting ideologies, we must demonstrate that the American

way of life is effective in meeting local community needs. One American city operated in genuine democratic fashion, with efficiency and vision, is a much more convincing illustration to the peoples of Asia and Europe than tons of printed words.

"The bureau founders...lived in a period when there was complete turnover of untrained officials at every election. So they provided that the bureau should be a permanent stabilizing influence, non-political and independently financed.

"The approach to this day remains the same—to cooperate with public officials in applying sound business methods to local government. Therefore the bureau is not concerned with personalities in public office. The emphasis is upon procedures, methods and results. The public credit for accomplishments goes to the public officials. They should get the credit because they have the responsibility, make the decisions and strive for reelection.

"We are a fact-finding, not a fault-finding, organization. As the slogan on our letterhead indicates, we seek 'Efficiency in Government through Cooperation with Government.'

"Because the bureau is an unofficial agency, it can serve as a clearing house on matters affecting more than one taxing body, including the city, the county, the public and vocational school systems, and the suburban municipalities. The facts gathered and analyzed by the bureau, as to the efficiency and effectiveness of the public services provided by the local governments in metropolitan Milwaukee, are made available to the citizens as well as to the public officials.

"This aspect of the bureau's work is in recognition of two basic facts of democracy: first, that the citizens themselves are responsible for the con-

duct of their government; and second, that in last analysis majority public opinion will prevail—if the public is adequately informed.

"But it is about as easy for the citizen to appraise the efficiency of the local governments as to write the formula for nuclear fission. We have 91 different taxing bodies within Milwaukee County, of which 70 are school districts. Then there are the five cities, six villages and seven towns as well as the Milwaukee city and county governments and the two sewerage commissions. The county board provides over 200 different public services; the city of Milwaukee over 400. About 17,000 employees administer these services; and the combined budgets for 1951 total over \$140,000,000. Local government is indeed big business!

"Research is just as essential to maintain our local governments at maximum efficiency as business research has been responsible for Milwaukee's reputation as America's industrial workshop. The total public and private national research budget has risen from a quarter billion dollars in 1938 to over a billion and a third today, excluding the unknown atomic-energy research budget. General Motors' research budget alone totals \$60,000,000 and Du Pont's \$35,000,000. The Du Pont president recently stated: 'We do research because we have to. If we let up, our competitors would trim us. Research is our insurance that our investment will continue to be profitable.'

Citizen Insurance

"Citizen research is part of the insurance that the tax dollar investment is giving the citizen his money's worth in keeping Milwaukee a good place in which to live and work and play and in making sure that the municipal

housekeeping is in step with the best practices of other well governed communities.

"At this point we should emphasize that these facts are used to help maintain good government, which does not necessarily mean cheap government. No business man can feel satisfied with a low tax rate if school buildings are obsolete, if traffic is constantly snarled, if the rubbish and garbage service is poor, if the community's physical and cultural facilities are inadequate and shabby!

"True civic wisdom is the striking of a proper balance between community needs and community resources. The more efficient the public services, the narrower will be the ever present gap between what we should have and what we can afford."

The report shows in detail how the bureau cooperates not only with government but with virtually every organization or group interested in the government or welfare of Greater Milwaukee. It points out that the bureau has supplied data and consulting service to the recently completed two-year Milwaukee County Survey of Social Welfare and Health Services and is now working with the Community Welfare Council in implementing the 80 survey reports with their more than 1,000 recommendations. For this purpose the bureau staff holds membership on the council's social planning committee, chairmanship of its research advisory committee and its committee for study of public and private recreation facilities, and memberships on other committees. The bureau maintains similar consulting relations with the Greater Milwaukee Committee, Association of Commerce City Club, Affiliated Taxpayers' Committee, Board of Realtors, League of Women Voters, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Research Clearinghouse

service clubs, certain AFL and CIO groups, personal and company foundations and other groups.

In discussing the impact of war on the bureau's program the report indicates that first priority will be given to recommendations of the recent Copenhagen administrative survey of Milwaukee's government. "The bureau will emphasize the impact of current inflation and the 'cold war,' including the need for greater mechanization of procedures, to save labor costs and offset the growing manpower shortage; simplification of office records and forms, so as to streamline methods and offset the paper shortage; prevention of possible over-staffing, by holding positions open for returning servicemen; and development of work-measurement units for installing performance budgeting and post-budgetary controls."

Industry Supports Program

Stevens Institute's new program in municipal management recently received its first contribution from industry. The Aluminum Company of America presented the program with a \$1,000 check and pledged \$1,000 annually for the next four years.

In presenting the check for the company, E. H. Grotefend, manager of the Edgewater works, declared it was important that the program "was conceived to improve government where it begins—at the municipal level—and that industry is interested in supporting this significant development in the field of education. Recognition of the need for improved government administration, and public support of programs effectively directed toward meeting that need, are the foundation upon which progress can be built."

Commenting on the program, Professor Paul Volcker, retired manager of Teaneck and director of the insti-

tute's Municipal Consulting Service, said, "Municipal government is important because it is the level of government closest to the people. It is their training school in democracy. It spends large sums for fundamental purposes, protecting and affecting the citizen in his everyday life."

The municipal management library has been started with the gift of a complete set of bound volumes—1909-1950—of *The American City*, presented by Editor Harold S. Battenheim.

A current project of the Municipal Consulting Service is a survey of garbage disposal in the 70 municipalities of Bergen County.

* * *

Bureau Notes

The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Mississippi (University) has begun publication of a monthly bulletin, *Mississippi Municipal News*, "as a public service to the municipal officials of the state."

A survey of the use of technical assistance in government on state, county and municipal levels is being sponsored by the Bureau of Government Research of the University of New Hampshire (Durham). The objectives of the survey are "(a) an appraisal of the use of technical assistance by units of government; (b) an appraisal of the services offered by agencies providing technical assistance; (c) the preparation and issuance of a directory."

The New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation was formed on January 10 of this year. Its general purposes are: "(a) to obtain the facts on New Jersey's tax structure; (b) to inform the people of New Jersey of these facts; (c) to outline to the people in a nonpartisan manner the various proposals for a better tax structure so that New Jersey may have a sound,

long-range fiscal policy able to provide for the needs of a growing state."

In recent *Bureau Notes*, the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research has been presenting summaries of the staff reports to the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government. Loren B. Miller, director of the bureau, is director of the reorganization committee.

* * *

Summer Workshops

On July 9-27, Michigan State College will hold its sixth annual summer forum, "a political science course designed to give teachers and students of social studies an opportunity to learn first hand about state and local government in Michigan." Topics will include the executive department, Michigan's "little Hoover commission" and city and county government. An outstanding feature of the course is the participation of state, county and city officials along with university and college professors.

A similar workshop is being inaugurated this summer by Rutgers University, at the request of the New Jersey State Department of Education and under the auspices of the university's Bureau of Government Research, to be held in Trenton July 9-20.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Former research director of the Connecticut Public Expenditures Council, Fred A. Schuckman has been appointed director of the Washington office of the American Municipal Association.

Stuart A. MacCorkle, executive director of the Texas Economy Commission, has recently been reelected to the Austin city council.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Budgets

1951-52 Budget Problem. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, March 13, 1951. 2 pp.

Proposed 1951-52 City Budget. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, March 15, 1951. 3 pp.

State Executive Budget. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer*, March 1951. 7 pp.

Charters

Home Rule for Philadelphia. The Proposed Charter. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1951. 15 pp.

The New Threat to Hartford's Charter. (Proposals for partisan election of councilmen by wards.) Hartford 3, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business*, March 1951. 2 pp.

City Councils

Proposed City Council. Philadelphia, Philadelphians to Vote on Changes in Council's Composition at April 17 Charter Election. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, March 19, 1951. 3 pp.

Civil Service

Proposed Personnel System. Home Rule Charter's Civil Service Provisions Protect Public's and Employees' Interests. Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, March 12, 1951. 3 pp.

Education

Buffalo's School Enrollment. (Showing decrease since 1937-38.) Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment*, April 5, 1951. 4 pp.

The Need for Higher Standards in the Teaching Profession. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, February 1951. 2 pp.

Shall the City of Milwaukee Issue \$850,000 of School Bonds to be Sold \$1,000,000 a Year Beginning in 1951? Milwaukee 2, Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, March 24, 1951. 8 pp.

Hospitals

The Utah State Hospital. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, March 1951. 4 pp.

Legislative Councils

1950 Report of the Wisconsin Legislative Council Submitted to the Governor and Legislature. (Volume III.) Covers Departmental Administration, Civil Defense, State Budget, Judiciary, Part I. Includes a proposal for a revision of administration for purchasing and other housekeeping functions.) Madison, Wisconsin Legislative Council, 1951. 120 pp.

Second Biennial Report 1949-1950. Report and Recommendations to the 3rd Legislature. Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma Legislative Council, 1950. 106 pp.

State Administration

State Administrative Practice. Solutions to Case Studies in State Administrative Practice. A Course in Administrative Management for Wisconsin Departmental Executives. Prepared by Bureau of Government of University of Wisconsin Extension Division in cooperation with State Board of Health of Wisconsin and State Bureau of Personnel of Wisconsin. Madison 6, University of Wisconsin, Bureau of Government, 1950. Various pages. \$2.50 and 50 cents respectively.

State Reorganization¹

Driver and Vehicle Services. Michigan Department of Corrections. The Michigan Conservation Agencies.

(Staff Reports Nos. 14-16.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 41, 56 and 43 pp. respectively.

Finance and Revenue. State Government Organization. Suggested Studies for Reorganization in State Government. Reports of the Legislative Interim Committee on State Administration. Submitted to the Forty-sixth Legislative Assembly in Accordance with House Joint Resolution 32, Oregon Laws, 1949. Salem, Oregon, the Committee, 1950 and 1951. 215, 279 and 20 pp. respectively.²

Florida's State Governmental Structure. Report of the Special Joint Economy and Efficiency Committee of the Florida Legislature of 1943. Part I: The Reorganization of Florida's Government. Gainesville, University of Florida, Public Administration Clearing Service, 1950. 62 pp. Charts.

A Preliminary Study of Government Management in North Carolina. By Roma Cheek Sawyer. Raleigh, Office of the Governor, 1950. 127 pp.

Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the State Government of Delaware. A report to the Commission on Reorganization of the State Government by Its Executive Committee. Wilmington, the Committee, 1950. Various pages.

Report of Iowa Governmental Reorganization Commission to Governor William S. Beardsley For Submission to the Fifty-fourth General Assembly. Des Moines, the Commission, 1950. 112 pp.

Second Report of the Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government. Third Report of the Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government. Boston, the Commission, 1950 and 1951. 10 and 17 pp. respectively.

¹For a review of some of these reports see the REVIEW, April 1951, page 207.

²For a review of these volumes see page 262, this issue.

Books in Review

Liberal Democracy: Its Merits and Prospects. By J. Roland Pennock. New York, Rinehart and Company, 1950. xii, 403 pp. \$4.

A fluent and sweeping study of our way of life and its chances in a shaking world, concluding "that the essential elements of liberal democracy are still sound—sound as the human nature on which they are based; that its specific political institutions are practicable today and can be kept so with no more than the kind of continual modification that has been taking place to date, without departure from the fundamentals; and that there is a good prospect, at least as far as concerns Great Britain and the United States, that evolution will in fact continue in the liberal mold."

R. S. C.

Gambling. Should It Be Legalized? By Virgil W. Peterson. Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1951. viii, 158 pp. \$2.75.

One of the best posted men in the country, operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission, demonstrates that provision of some legalized gambling, public lotteries, etc., does not reduce the amount of crookedly managed, illicit gambling but increases it.

American City Government and Administration (fifth edition). By Austin F. Macdonald. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1951. xvi, 699 pp. \$4.50.

The previous editions beginning in 1929 have run through 24 printings and so this new edition needs no introduction or recommendation. The new matter is mainly in the sixteen

chapters dealing with administrative departments and functions. It remains a fine readable textbook.

Surveys, Polls and Samples: Practical Procedures. By Mildred Parten. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1950. xii, 624 pp. \$6.

With a background of twenty years of participation in governmental and institutional surveys, the author provides an exhaustive and lucid manual of the techniques of making sound public opinion surveys and sampling of mass information.

The People, Politics, and the Politician. Readings in American Government (revised). By A. N. Christensen and Evron M. Kirkpatrick. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1950. xiv, 1042 pp. \$6.

First published in 1941, now revised this bulky volume brings together 120 brief articles on 34 subjects dated from 1920 on and including three from the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, all of them transient items worth rescuing from imminent oblivion because of their lasting value.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Assessment Administration

Assessment Administration 1950 Papers Presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Assessment Administration, Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 9-12, 1950. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1951. 214 pp. \$5.

Building Regulations

Building Regulation Systems in the United States. Washington 25, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, Division of Housing Research, 1951. 100 pp. 10 cents. Tables.

Counties

Economic County Data Book for Maryland. Baltimore 2, Maryland Economic Planning Commission, 1950. 63 pp. 50 cents.

Defense

Building America's Might. By Charles E. Wilson. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1951. 43 pp.

Civil Defense Check List for Cities. Washington, D. C., Federal Civil Defense Administration, 1950. 6 pp.

Financing Defense. Can Expenditures Be Reduced. New York 20, Committee on Federal Tax Policy, 1951. 10 pp.

Proceedings of Emergency Meeting, League of California Cities. Los Angeles 13, The League, 1951. 112 pp.

Expressways

Status of Express Highway Program. Cleveland, Regional Association, 1950. 13 pp. maps.

Federal Reorganization

Action on Hoover Commission Reports. Report of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 152 pp.

Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies. By Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. Washington 25, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1951. 22 pp. 20 cents.

Government Insurance

Government Insurance in the United States. By Department of Research. New York, Association of Casualty and Surety Companies, 1950. 130 pp.

Governors' Messages

Fourth Annual Message Alfred E. Driscoll, Governor of New Jersey, to the Legislature January 9, 1951. Trenton, The Governor's Office, 1951. 19 pp.

Governors' Messages—1951. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government*, March 1951. 55 pp. 50 cents.

Handbooks

Handbook for Connecticut Selectmen. By Max R. White. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1951. 53 pp. 25 cents.

Housing

The Relationship Between Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment and Low-rent Public Housing. Washington, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, 1950. 15 pp.

Municipal Ordinances

Report of Municipal Statutes Study Committee Created by Chapter 308, Laws of the Fifty-third General Assembly, November 15, 1950. Des Moines, Iowa, Governor's Office, 1951. 37 pp.

Patrol Cars

One and Two Man Patrol Cars: Selected References. Detroit 26, Public Library, Municipal Reference Library, 1951. 4 pp.

Personnel

Counseling in Personnel Work 1945-1949. An Annotated Bibliography. By Paul S. Burnham and Stuart H. Palmer. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1951. 39 pp. \$1.

Price-Wage Control

Conditions Necessary for Effective Price-Wage Control. A Statement by the Program Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1951. 8 pp.

Salaries

Salary and Wage Data. Michigan Cities and Villages over 4,000 Population. Hours of Work, Overtime Pay Practices and Holiday Pay Practices, 1950-1951. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1951. 96 pp. \$3.

Taxation and Finance

An Emergency Tax Program for 1951. Highlights of a Statement on National Policy issued by the Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1951. 4 pp.

Report to the Legislature for the Year Ending December 31, 1950. Boston, The Finance Commission of the City of Boston, 1951. 36 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1950. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, January-February 1951. 16 pp. 50 cents.

The Unconstitutionality of a Federal Tax upon State and Municipal Bond Interest. The Constitutional Immunity of State and Municipal Securities. Memorandum Presented by Nathaniel L. Goldstein, Attorney General, to Congress in Opposition to Proposal to Tax State and Municipal Bond Interest. Albany, Attorney General of New York State, 1951. 22 pp.

Urban Sociology

Urban Sociology and the Emerging Atomic Megalopolis (two volumes). By Jesse Walter Dees, Jr. Ann Arbor, Michigan, Ann Arbor Publishers, 1950. 538 pp. \$4.

Water Supply

A Water Policy for the American People. Summary of Recommendations from the Report of the President's Water Resources Policy Commission. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1950. 18 pp. 15 cents.

CARE OF STATE TRUST FUND

(Continued from page 258)

as the funds' boards of trustees have been given. These are relatively unimportant administrative provisions but they do represent a balance of values between the policy of holding the head of a department responsible for the conduct of the work under him and that of assuring a career service free of the possibly changing political influence of an appointive head of a department. Since the director is originally appointed on the basis of proved qualifications, albeit under a special procedure applicable only to this position, the situation is similar to the usual bureau chief who is in the classified civil service.

In summary, the new legislation in New Jersey offers an example of how other states may profitably undertake one of the less glamorous but more important acts of functional reorganization. While those experienced in state administrative reorganization generally agree that actual dollar savings should not ordinarily be the measure of success, effective organization and procedure in the management and custody of public investment funds can mean much in actual dollars saved. It can assure the security of capital and adequacy of return on investments and also realize economy and efficiency in investment fund operations far beyond the possibilities suggested by the small number of persons involved in their administration.